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BOOK VI.

THE AŚHĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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to
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt. Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अचः, द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । एकाच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणाविधानात् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् । वक्ष्यति लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरवयवस्यानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

1. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two.

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e., the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra: all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprasârana begins. Thus Sûtra VI. 1. 8 says "when लिट् follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sûtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sûtra, when it will read thus: "when लिट् follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागृः—जजागार (जागृ + जल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + अ = ज + जागृ + अ VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke"). So also पपाच्, इयाय, आर from the roots पच्, इ and कृ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिट्), the Desiderative (सृज्), the Intensive (यङ्), the २ लु vikaraṇa, the Aorist in चङ्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच 'the first portion consisting of one vowel'. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ 'to go', then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथमः) or ekâch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्”—“An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. So also in पच् there is no *first* syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. 1. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पच् + अ (जल् of लिट्) = पाच् पाच् + अ = प पाच् + अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाच् ॥

The word द्वि in the sūtra indicates that the very word-form is to be doubled or pronounced-twice, and not that another word of similar meaning is substituted. In fact this is not a rule ordaining *substitution* of two, in the room of one; but of the *repetition* of the one. Compare VIII. 1. 1.

अजादेद्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्विवचनपवादोऽयम् । अजादेद्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विवचनमधिक्रियते । अच् आदिर्यस्य धातोस्तद्वचनस्य द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

2. Of that whose first syllable begins with a vowel, there are two in the room of the second portion containing a single vowel.

This debars the reduplication of the *first* syllable. In a verbal root beginning with a vowel, and consisting of more than one syllable, the *second* syllable is to be reduplicated and not the first. Thus the सनन्त root अटिष्, (अट् + सन् = अट् + इट् + सन् VII. 2. 35 = अटिष्), reduplicates the second syllable टिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अटि टिषति, the ष being elided by VII. 4. 60 : and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिशिषति, अरिषिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, ऋ + सन् = ऋ + इट् + सन् (VII. 2. 74) = अर + इ + स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel-affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर should take place i. e. the ऋ the sthāni should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्विवचनेऽचि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विवचननिमित्तेऽचि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इट् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इट् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन् कार्यं निमित्ततया नाधीयते “surely that which ‘undergoes an operation’ can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule”. Thus from the root शीङ् is formed शयित् ; here the root शी is gunated before the augment इट्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of gunation with regard to क्तिन् or डित् words does not apply here. For though शीङ् has an indicative ऊ yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजादिः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजादिः and they consider the word as a Karma-dhârâya compound and not a Bahuvrîhi compound. According to them the word means:—"The syllable *following* the *initial vowel* is reduplicated". (अद्यासावादिस्थेयजादिः, अजादेरुत्तरस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः) ॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

न न्द्राः संयोगादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, न्द्राः, संयोगादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्गते । द्वितीयस्यैकाचोऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विवचनं प्रतिषिध्यते । नकारश्चकाररेफा द्वितीयैकाचोऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न द्विरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ वकारोपधापदेशो तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्यतेस्त्वृतीय द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्ठासीनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधातूनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्टं नामधातुर्भाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The letters न्, द् and र् being the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitīyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sūtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (sanyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन्द् is उन्दिष, formed by adding सन् and इद् ॥ The second syllable here is निष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्दिषिषति; so also from अङ्ङ् and अर्च् we have अङ्ङिडिषति, and अर्चिषिषति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईर्यिषिषते from ईर्य in which क् is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to च् ॥ Why do we say "being the first letter in a conjunct consonant"? Observe प्राणिषिषति from the root अन् 'to breathe', the न् being changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजादिः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus वरिद्रासति ॥ Some explain the word अजादिः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhârâya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्दिद्रीयिषति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमिच्छति = इन्द्र । कथञ् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयतुमिच्छति = इन्द्रीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and र् also, as द् and र् are not immediately after the initial vowel (अजादि) इ in this case.

Vârt:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter न् also. As उङ्ङ्—उङ्ङिजिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate न् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultimate **र**, then the rule does not apply: the **र** should then be ordained as a substitute of **रु** ॥ See Tudadi root 20.

Vart:—There is no prohibition of the **र** when it is followed by **य** ॥ Thus **अरायते** ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb **अर**, and is thus evolved: **अर** + **यङ्** (III. 1. 22. *Vart*) = **अरु** + **य** (VII. 4. 30) = **अर्य**, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable **र्य** has an initial **र** which is not however rejected in reduplication.

Vart:—In the case of the verb **ईष्यति** the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is **ईष्ययिषति** ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root **ईष्य** (**ईष्य** + **इद्** + **सन्**), the third syllable **ष** is reduplicated: Thus **ईष्ययष**, **ईष्ययिष** (VII. 4. 79) the **अ** of **ष** is changed into short **इ** by VII. 4. 79. = **ईष्ययिषति** ॥

Vart:—The third syllable of the verbs **कण्डूय** &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus **कण्डूय** + **इद्** + **सन्** = **कण्डूयष** = **कण्डूयिषति**; so also **असृयिषति** &c.

Vart:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus **अश्वीयिषति** or **आशश्वीयिषति** ॥

Vart:—Others say, any syllable of a **नामधातु** (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun **पुत्र** is derived the root **पुत्रीय**, the desiderative root of which is **पुत्रीयष**, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated: as. 1. **पुपुत्रीयिषति**, 2. **पुतित्रीयिषति**, 3. **पुत्रीयिषति**, 4. **पुत्रीयिषति** ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. **पुपुतित्रीयिषति** ॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे इति प्रथमान्तं यदुवर्त्तते तदर्थान्तिह षष्ठ्यन्तं जायते । तच्च प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये हे विहिते तयोर्थः पूर्वो द्वयवः सोऽभ्याससंज्ञो भवति ॥

4. The first of the two is called the *Abhyāsa* or the Reduplicate.

The word **हे** in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. **द्वयोर्थः पूर्वः** "the first of the two" ordained above. The word *Abhyāsa* occurs in sūtras III. 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c.

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे इति वर्त्तमाने उभेप्रवर्णं सपुत्रायसंज्ञामतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये हे विहिते ते उभे अपि सपुत्रित अभ्यस्त-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called *Abhyasta*.

Though the word **हे** was understood in the sūtra, the use of the word **उभे** 'both' indicates that the word *Abhyasta* applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word *abhyasta* occurs in sūtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 189 declares "the first vowel of

an Abhyasta gets the udâtta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in ददाति dádati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. 1. 4 अन् takes the place of झ after an Abhyasta, therefore, दद् + झि = दद् + अति = ददाति ॥ So also ववत् (VI. 4. 112).

जक्षित्यादयः षट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जक्ष, इत्यादयः, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामिति वर्त्तते । जक्ष इत्ययं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये षट् धातवो ऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं समा-
नां धातूनामभ्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रभृतिर्वेवीङ् वेतिना तुल्यइति यावत् ॥

6. So also the six roots beginning with jakshi are called abhyasta.

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, द्रिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, दीधी, and वेवी ॥ Pāṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sârva-dhâtuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इद् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाग्रति já-grati, जक्षति jákshati, द्रिद्रति dâridrati, चकासति chákâsati, शासति śâśati, दीध्यते didhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle दीध्यत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शतृ (अन्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नुम् by VII. 1, 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घो ऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामिति प्रकारेणादिशब्दः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजदीर्घोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथा-
भूतास्ते तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुभवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given anywhere. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as "verbs like tuj". So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the Reduplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus तूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् II. 2. 106 = तूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). मामहानः, अनङ्गान् राधार, स्वर्धो मीमाय.स तूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तुताज शबलान् हरीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोस्त्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥
षात्तिकम् ॥ द्विचनप्रकरणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिर्द्विचनं जागर्तवेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. When the tense-affixes of the Perfect follow, there is reduplication of the root, which is not already reduplicated.

The reduplication is either of the first syllable or of the second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus पच् + णल् = पच् पच् + णल् = पपाच ॥ So also पपाठ, प्रोणुनाव ॥ In the case of ऊर्णु, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding आम् and the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस्; but regularly. In fact ऊर्णु is regarded as if it was नु ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यङ् प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आत्मस्य प्राप्तवैधार्थमेकाच्चेदुपमहान् ॥

Why do we say when लट् follows? Observe कर्ता, हर्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe ससृवांसो विशृण्वरे, सोममिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhātu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिट् is treated as sārva-dhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As श्रु taking the vikaraṇa इनु becomes श्रुनु; (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have श्रुन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यदीह्य । नोनृततेर्नोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनृत्य, and is not reduplicated again, यङ् having already caused reduplication. So also समान्या मरुतः समिमिक्षुः ending in the उत् of the Perfect.

Vārt.—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आदित्यान् याचिषामहे or यियाचिषामहे; देवतानो व्राति प्रियाणि or ददाति प्रियाणि ॥ मघवा रातु or ददातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

Vārt.—The root जागृ is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो जागार (or जजागार) तमृचः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वृत्तते । सन्यङोरिति च षष्ठ्यन्तमेतन् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाच्चा द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

9. Of a non-reduplicate root ending in सन् (Desiderative) or यङ् (Intensive) affixes, there is reduplication.

The word सन् यङोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यङ् follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इद् would not, as in अट्टिषति, अशिषति ॥

The phrase धातोरनभ्यासस्य is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus पच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) पक्ष, reduplicate विपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पन्

विपत्तिर्वाति. क—अगरिर्वाति, उन्व—उन्निर्विषति ॥ So also of यङन्तः—as, पापय्यते (VII. 4. 83), अदाय्यते, यायय्यते, अराय्यते, प्राण्णान्यते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सयते, लोलयिषते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svârthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलय (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

इलो ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ इलो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इलो परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोस्त्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

10. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the vikaraṇa slu (इलु) follows.

The इलु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa शप् ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus लुहोति (from हु), बिभेति, जिह्ति ॥

चङि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोस्त्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चङ् of the Aorist follows.

The reduplication is of the first or second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus अपीपचन्, अपीपञ्चन्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आदिदन्, आदिशन्, आदिदन् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (प्यन्त) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign णि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthânavat. For rule VII. 4. 93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which णि followed by चङ् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyâhâra अकृ occasioned by the affixing of णि ॥" One of the conditions for the application of this rule is that the reduplicate must be followed by a light vowel. We have said above that the long penultimate is to be shortened before चङ् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthânavat âdeśa (I. 1. 56), or not? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthânavadbhâva will arise there only when some operation is to be done to a thing anterior to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something anterior to such original (अनादिष्ट) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आदिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वडाव ॥ If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. * The order must be this: 1st the elision of णि (VI. 4. 51) 2nd the shortening of the penultimate (VII 4. 4) 3rd the reduplication. If the reduplication take place first and the vowel be shortened, then the reduplication having taken place before the substitution of the vowel had taken place, such substitute will now be considered as sthānivad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्वडाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमन्, where the short is ordained after the णि ॥ If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable टि in the word अटिट्? This is, however, done by I. 1. 59. which see.'

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वान् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीढ्वान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते शब्दाश्छन्दसि भाषायां चाविशेषणं निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुमादीनां के इ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरिचरिपतिवरीनां द्वित्वमध्यक्याभ्यासस्य ॥

वा० ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्धत्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पाठेर्णिलुक् चाक् च दीर्घाभ्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles dāśvān, sāvhan and mīdhvān are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दाश्वान् is from the root दाश् 'to give' with the affix क्कुसु (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इद् are prohibited irregularly. As दाश्वान्तो दाशुषः सुतम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साह्वान् is derived from the root सह 'to endure', by adding the affix क्कुसु (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment इद् and the reduplication. Thus साह्वान् बलाहकः ॥ So also मीढ्वान् comes from मिह् 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्कुसु (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इद्, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of ह् into इ ॥ As मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मुडय ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always; in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vārt:—Reduplication takes place when क्कुम् &c. are followed by the affix क् ॥ Thus, क्रियते अनेन = कृ + क = चक्रम्, क्क्रिद् + क = चिक्क्रिम् ॥ The affix क् comes after क्कुम् and क्क्रिद् with the force of the affix घञ् ॥

Vārt:—The roots चर्, चल, पत्, and वद् take reduplication when followed by the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyāsa) takes the augment आक् ॥ The final consonants of the Abhyāsa (reduplicate), are not elided in these verbs, in order to give scope to the augment, for if the final consonants be elided by VII. 4. 60, then the addition of the augment becomes unnecessary; as there is no difference between the augment and the ādesa (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus चराचरः, चलाचल, पतापतः, वरावहः ॥

Vart:—The above vArtika is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरुषः, चलो रयः, वंशो वनस्पत्यः &c.

Vart:—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment आक् comes after the Abhyāsa, and च is the substitute of ह of the Abhyāsa. Thus हन् + अच् = घन् + आक् + हन् + अच् = घनाघनः (The second ह is changed into घ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः क्षोभनश्चरणीनाम् ॥

Vart:—The causative root पाठि is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and षक् is the augment of the Abhyāsa, and it is lengthened. Thus पाठि + अच् = पाठूषटः ॥

व्यङ्गः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्न्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यङ्गः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्न्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रे पति इत्येतयोर्हत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे व्यङ्गः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

वासिक्रमः ॥ व्यङ्गः संप्रसारणं मौकाशयाः पतिरेव ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ्ग (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यङ्ग of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus क्रीषण्यन्धः = क्रीषण्यन्धः (a Bahuvrihi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) क्रीषण्यन्धरपत्यम् = क्रीषण्यन्ध + अण् (IV. 1. 92) = क्रीषण्यन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ्ग (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have क्रीषण्यन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final य् will be changed into इ and we have क्रीषण्यन्धी-पुत्रः, क्रीषण्यन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः ० कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say “of the affix व्यङ्ग”? Observe इत्यापुत्रः, इतिपतिः ॥

Why do we say “when followed by पुत्र or पति”? Observe क्रीषण्यन्ध्या-कुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say “when forming a Tatpurusha compound”? Observe क्रीषण्यन्ध्यापतिरस्य घामम् = क्रीषण्यन्ध्यापतिरस्यं घामः ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi compound.

The affix व्यङ्ग is here the feminine affix य् followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

A general maxim relating to all affixes is “an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययग्रहणं यस्मात् स विहितस्तदोस्तद्वन्त्य ग्रहणम्” ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule “a feminine affix denotes whenever

it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate : स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasārjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुत्र and पति alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end : not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in व्यङ् may have semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix र (व्यङ्) only, according to the maxim निदिश्यमानस्योद्देशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated".

The word संप्रसारण has regulating influence upto VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these sūtras.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्ष्य ॥ As गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः, गौकाक्ष्यायातः instead of गौकाक्ष्यपुत्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुशब्दोत्तरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वा० ॥ मातृमातृकमातृपु ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix व्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौमुदगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुधनः, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

Vārt:—There is vocalisation of व्यङ् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृ, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातृः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृः, कारीषगन्धीमातृकः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ The indicatory च of मातृच makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in च take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक् by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional.

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचिः, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वृत्तते । व्यङ् इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । सुषो वचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥
त्रिष्वप् शये । यजादयो, यज इवपूजासंगतिकरणदानेऽप्येतः प्रभृति आ गणास्ताम् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजा-
दीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥ •

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजादि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicatory क ॥

The anuvritti of व्यङ् does not run into this sūtra. The root वच् includes the वच् परिभाषणे of the Adādi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of ह्र (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root त्रिष्वप् शये of the Adādi class (II. 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvādi class viz. यज्, वप्, वृज्, वस्, वेम्, व्यम्, ह्वम्, वद् and श्वि ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicatory क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु we have the following forms:—
1. वच्—उक्तः, उक्तवान्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् 3 यज्—इष्टः, इष्टवान्, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उप्तः, उप्तवान्, 5 वृज्—ऊढः, ऊढवान् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वस्—ऊषितः, ऊषितवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेम्—उतः, उतवान्, 8 व्यम्—सवीतः, सवीतवान्, 9 ह्वम्—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदितवान्, 11 श्वि—श्रुतः, श्रुतवान् ॥

धाता स्वरूपग्रहणे तन्प्रत्ययैः कार्यं विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātu) specifically, and not by using the word “dhātu” generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by enunciating the word धातोः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word औगहत्यच् in VI. 4. 174, w. en sec. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following: वाच्यन्तः, वाच्यकः ॥ Here वाच्यन्तः is formed by adding क्यच् to वाच (वाचुनिच्छति) ॥ वाच्य is formed by क्तिप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and samprasāraṇa being expressly prevented by Upādi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix त्रिष्वप्, दिद्, or विश् does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातुः), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix क्यच् ॥ But क्यच् is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a मुञ्जन् (मुञ्जान्तः क्यच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाच्यकः formed by adding क्त to वाच् (See Vārt. V. 3. 83).

ग्रहज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां किति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥
ग्रहि, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, किति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपज्ञते, ज्या वयोहानौ, वयो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वशश्चात्मनो, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, औग्रश्च-
छिन्ने, पृच्छ जीप्सायां, भ्रज्ज पाकः, इत्येतेषां धातूनां किति प्रत्यये परतः स्वकीयात्कति च संप्रसारणं भवति ।
परिभाषा ॥ निष्प्रदेशः पत्वस्वरप्रत्ययान्वयीद्विधाधेषु सिद्धोक्तव्यः ॥ •

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or ड् follows:—ग्रह 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेष् 'to weave', व्यथ 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', वथ 'to cut', प्रच्छ 'to ask', and भ्रज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of किति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीतः, गृहीतवान् (by क् and कवतु), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), अगृह्णते (by वृद्ध of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त changed to न), जिनाति (I. 2. 4), the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. जेजायते (यङ्). 3. वथि—The root वेष् is replaced by वथ when लिट् follows (II. 4. 41). This वथि can have no डित् affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are कित् (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of कित् affixes only. Thus जयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वथि, for is not वेष् (for which वथि is substituted) already included in यजादि class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वथि will get samprasāraṇa before कित् affixes', The reply is "वथि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वेष् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वथि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेष् is वेषा, ववतुः, वयुः, the Perfect of its substitute वथि is ऊवाय ऊयतुः and ऊयुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वथि is not vocalised in लिट् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñāpaka) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वथि will be vocalised. 4. व्यथ—विद्धः, विद्धवान्, and with डित् affixes विध्यति, वाविध्यते ॥ 5. वश—उशितः, उशितवान्, and with डित् affixes उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचिनः, विचिनवान् विचिन्त, वेविच्यतु ॥ By a Vārṭika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कुटादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ण, च् or the affix भस्, are considered as डित्, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes; as, उर्विचिन्ता, उर्विचिनुम, उर्विचिनव्यम ॥ 7. वृथ—वृकणः, वृकणवाद ॥ How is the final च् of वथ changed into क् for by VIII. 2. 36 च् ought to have been changed into च before the इत्यादि affix क्? To this we reply the affix क् is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a इत्यादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim: "The substitute of the Nishṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to "the change of a letter into इ, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इह". But when च is to be changed into क्, the substitute is considered asiddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृकणः &c. Before डित् affixes we have वृथति, वरीवृथ्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, डित्—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छ्यते ॥ The forms पप्रच्छ and वप्रच्छ would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ + नङ् (III. 3. 90) = प्रच्छनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pāṇini himself uses the word प्रच्छनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9. भ्रञ्ज—वृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), वृष्टवान्, क्तिन्—वृञ्जति, वरी वृञ्जयन्त ॥ The स of भ्रञ्ज is changed first into ढ by मलं जश् ह्रासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then ढ is changed into ज by स्तोः इधुना इधुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषां ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषां, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यादीनां ग्रहादीनां च लिटि परतोऽभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

17. There takes place vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the reduplicate (abhyâsa) of both vāchyâdi (VI. 1. 15) and grahâdi (VI. 1. 16) words, when the affixes of लिट् follow.

Thus वच्—उवाच, उवाचिथ, स्वप्—सुप्वाप, सुवपिथ, यज—इयाज, इयजिथ, दुवप्—उवाप, उवपिथ ॥ As regards ग्रहादि verbs; ग्रह—जग्राह, जग्राहिथ (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). उवा—जिउयो, जिउयिथ, वयि—उवाय, and उवायिथ; व्यध—विव्याध, विव्यधिथ, वश—उवाश, उवशिथ, व्यश्—विव्याश्, विव्याशिथ, व्रश्—वव्रश् and वव्राश्च ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश् + णल् = व्रश् + व्रश् + अ = व + व्रश् + अ (ह्रासि शेषः VII. 4. 60) = वव्रश् ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the र, then you will have to vocalise व by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश् also, for having changed र into ऋ, we have वृव्रश् and then change ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Then this अ substitute becomes sthānivat to ऋ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this व, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छ and भ्रञ्ज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not क्तिन् ॥ With regard to क्तिन् affixes, the Rule VI. 1. 15 will apply. And as the rule of vocalisation is subsequent to that of reduplication in order, therefore by the maxim of परस्व I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानात्सिद्धम् “occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule”. Thus वच् + अतुः (which is क्तिन् I. 2. 5) = उच् + अतुः = उच् + उच् + अतुः = अच्तुः, अचुः ॥

Though the phrase **इभज्जाम्** could have been supplied into this sūtra by the context and the governing scope of the preceding sūtras, its express mention in this sūtra is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of **ह्लादिः शेषः**, VII. 4. 60, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus **व्यध+अङ्=व्य+अध+अ** ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant **य** of **व्य** ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood **व+व्यध्+अ**, and there would have been vocalisation of **व** by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of **य** and we have **विव्याध** ॥ In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is :—"The samprasāraṇa and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable". **संप्रसारणं तदश्रयं च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥**

स्वापेश्वाङि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापेः, चङि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेऽपि स्वपेर्ण्यन्तस्य ग्रहणं तस्य चङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

18. Of the causative verb **स्वापि** "to cause one to sleep", there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix **चङ्** of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of **स्वापि** is **असृपुपत्, असृपुपताम्, असृपुपन् ॥** The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is guṇa of the penultimate short vowel, then this is again shortened by VII. 4. 1, then there is reduplication, and then lengthening of the vowel of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 94. Thus **स्वापि+चङ्=सुपि+चङ्=सुप्** (VI. 4. 51)+**चङ्** (VII. 3. 86)=**सोप्+चङ्=सुप्+चङ्** (VII. 4. 1)=**सु+सुप्+चङ्** (VI. 1. 11)=**सृपुपन्** (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment **अ** becomes **असृपुपन् ॥**

Why do we say 'when **चङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥** The anuvritti of कृति has ceased, that of डिङि however is here.

स्वपिभ्यमिद्व्येजां यङि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यमि, व्येजाम्, यङि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिष्वप् शये स्यसु स्वन ध्वन शब्दे, व्येज् संवरणे, इत्येतां धातूनां यङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs **स्वप्** 'to sleep', **स्यम्** 'to shout', and **व्ये** 'to cover', when followed by the affix **यङ्** of the Intensive.

Thus **सोपुष्यते, सोसिभ्यते, वेवीयते** (VII. 4. 25 the short **इ** is lengthened). Why do we say 'when **यङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वमक्** formed by **नृजिङ्** III. 2. 172.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्धते । वशोर्द्धातोर्यङि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of **वश**, when the affix **यङ्** follows.

The word यङि is understood here. As वावड्यते, वावड्यते, वावड्यन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when यङ् follows"? Observe उष्टः, उष्टन्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । चयि पूजानिशामनयोरित्येतस्य धातोर्वाङि परतः कीत्ययमोऽशौ भवति ॥

21. The verb की is substituted for the verb चाय् 'to worship, to observe', when the Intensive affix यङ् follows.

The phrase यङि is understood here. Thus चैकीयते, चैकीयते, चैकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यङ् is elided, as चैकीतः ॥ For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चाय्, the forms चैकीयत &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यङ् = चि + कि + य = चे + कि + य = चे + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short इ). But then the Nishthā would have been चैकितः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी ओष्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमोऽशौ भवति ॥

22. The स्फी is the substitute of स्फाय 'to swell', when the Nishthā affixes follow.

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥ Why do we say "when the Nishthā affixes follow"? Observe स्फातिः formed by क्तिन् ॥ In the phrase स्फाती भवति, the word स्फाती is the feminine of the word स्फाति formed by क्तिन् ॥ The phrase निष्ठायाम् "when the Nishthā follows" governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 29.

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायांमति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतन्न स्वर्यते । स्त्ये ङ्ये शब्दसंघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येतयोर्द्धात्वाः स्त्यारूपमापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्ये and ङ्ये) when preceded by प्र changes its semivowel to a Vowel, when a Nishthā affix follows.

The phrases "when the nishthā follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here. The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here. The roots स्त्ये and ङ्ये both assume the form स्त्या and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + क्त = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The त of nishthā affix would have been changed into न् by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्या has a semivowel and ends in long आ ॥ But by the vocalisation of य, the condition of यण्वन् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix त is not changed to न् ॥ But त is optionally changed to न् by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by प्र?" Observe संस्त्यानः (VIII. 2. 43), संस्त्यानवान् ॥ If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when प्र

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus प्रस्यः ॥ The use of the word पूर्वस्य implies that the rule applies when प्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रसंस्तीतः, प्रसंस्तीतवान् ॥ The compound प्रपूर्वस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrīhi = प्रः पूर्वो यस्य धातूपसर्ग-समुदायस्य स प्रपूर्व (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by प्र is called प्रपूर्व). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रसंस्तीतः &c.

द्रवमूर्त्तिस्पर्शयोः इयः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तिः, स्पर्शयोः, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तौ द्रवकाटिन्व्ये स्पर्शे वर्त्तमानस्य श्येङ् गतावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root इया (इयै) 'to go' when the nishṭhā affixes follow, when the sense is "coagulation" or "cold to touch".

The word द्रवमूर्त्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीनं घृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेघः "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The त् of nishṭhā is changed to न् by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold', the त् is not changed; as शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुद्रकम् ॥ The word शीत is here used both as a noun meaning 'cold weather &c', and an adjective denoting 'cold'. There is no vocalisation when the sense is not that of 'coagulation' or 'cold', as संदयानो वृश्चिकः 'the rolled up scorpion'. The short इ is lengthened in शीन &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेश्च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य इयायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of इया preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus प्रतिशीनः प्रतिशीनवान् ॥ This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of "coagulation" or "cold".

विभाषा ऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवपूर्वस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of इया followed by the Nishṭhā affixes, when the upasargas अभि and अव precede it.

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिशयानम् घृतं, अवशीनम् or अवशयानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means "coagulation" and "cold". As अवशीनं or अवशयानं घृतं, मेघः ॥ अवशीतो or अवशयानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं or अवशयानमुद्रकं ॥

The पूर्व in this sūtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus अभिसंशीनं or अभिसंशयानं, अवसंशीनं, अवसंशयानं ॥ According to the author of Siddhānta Kaumudī, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence there is no option allowed when अभि and अव are in the middle, as, समभिशयानं, समवशयानं ॥ Here we cannot have the alternative forms समभिशीनं &c.

शृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृतम्, पाके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषित्यनुवर्त्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्प्यन्तस्याप्यन्तस्य च पाके ऽभिधेये कप्रत्यये परतः
शृभावा निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

27. Optionally शृत is, formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of आ before the nishṭhâ affix क् ॥

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots श्रे 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Adâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi sub-class Ghaṭâdi, are meant here. In all these, शृ replaces आ, whether causative or not. Thus शृतं क्षीरं, शृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vivhâshâ ; so that आ is invariably changed to शृ when referring to क्षीर and हवि, but not anywhere else. Thus आणा यवामूः, अपिता यवामूः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As अपितं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तेन "Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked". The आ is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form शृत is to be used. As शृतं क्षीरं स्वयमव, शृतं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषित्वेव । ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय् 'to increase' before the Nishṭhâ affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvâdi class. The indicatory ओ shows that the affixes त् and तवत् are changed into न् and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं मुखम्, पीनौ बाहू, पीनसुरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः. आप्यानश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आङ् precedes the root, and the words अन्धुः and रुधश्च are in composition : as आपीनोन्धुः, आपीनमूधः ॥

लिङ्यङोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यङोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषिते निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्चशब्देनानुक्रुष्यते । लिङ् यङि च परतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय् when the affixes of the Perfect (लिङ्) and the Intensive (यङ्) follow.

The anuvritti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sūtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus आपिप्ये, आपिप्यात्ते, आपिप्यिरे ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debarred reduplication which precedes it in order. The reduplication, however, takes place after the substitution, by force of the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्ग &c men-

tioned in VI. 1. 17. Thus $\text{दी} + \text{लिङ्} = \text{पि} + \text{पी} + \text{त} = \text{पि} + \text{प्य} + \text{ए}$ (VI. 4. 82 the य being substituted) = आपिप्ये with the affix आ . So also in the Intensive, as आपिपीयते , आपिपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा इवेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्यङोरिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यङि च इव्यतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

30. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्चि before the affixes of the Perfect and the Intensive.

The phrases लिङ् यङाः and संप्रसारणं are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुशावे or शिश्वाय , शुश्रुवतुः or शिश्रुवतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीश्रूयते or शश्चीयते ॥ The root श्चि would not have taken vocalisation before यङ् by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिङ् , which is a क्रिन् affix, invariably by VI. 1. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. 1. 17. This explains the form शिश्वाय , which by VI. 1. 17 would have been शुश्राय ॥ $\text{इव्} + \text{णल्} = (\text{श्र उइ} + \text{णल् VI. 1. 30}) = \text{शु} + \text{णल् (VI. 1. 108)} = \text{शु} + \text{शु} + \text{अ (VI. 1. 8)} = \text{शुशाव}$ ॥

णौ च संश्रङोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्, चङोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा इवेरिति वर्त्तते । सन् परे चङ् परे च णौ परतः श्वयेतर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of श्चि , when followed by the Desiderative सन् and the Aorist चङ् affix.

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्चि , there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुशावयिषति or शिश्वाययिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ् , as अशुश्रुवन् or अशिश्रुवन् ॥ By the maxim $\text{संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्वयं च बलीयां भवति}$ (see sūtra VI. 1. 17), the ántaranga substitution of Vriddhi \& c is superseded by the samprasāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vriddhi and the substitution of आव take place *after* the samprasāraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of ई for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि is sthānivāt though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. 1. 59). Thus $\text{श्चि} + \text{णि} = \text{श्वै} + \text{इ} = \text{श्वाय्} + \text{इ} = \text{श्वायि}$ ॥ In reduplicating श्वायि we cannot form श्वाश्वायि , but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ of श्चि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्वाययिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vriddhi \& c are postponed. Thus $\text{श्चि} + \text{णि} + \text{सन् (Vd. I. 108)} = \text{शु} + \text{णि} + \text{सन्} = \text{शौ} + \text{इ} + \text{सन्} = \text{शाव्} + \text{इ} + \text{इद्} + \text{सन्} = \text{शावे} + \text{इद्} + \text{सन्} = \text{शावयि} + \text{सन्}$ ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute आच् in शाच् though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthānivat under I. 1. 59 to उ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: श्वि + णि + चङ् = शु + इ + अ = शु + शु + इ + अ = शु + शौ + इ + अ = शु + शाच् + इ + अ = शु + शाच् + इ + अ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + शच् + ० + अ (VI. 4. 51) = अश्शश्चन् (VII. 4. 94)

हृः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संभङ्गारिति वर्त्तते । सन्त्यरे चङ् परे च णौ परतो हृः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* (ह्वे) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus जुहाव-यिषति and जुहावयिषतः, जुहावयिषन्ति; अजुह्वन्, अजुह्वयताम् and अजुह्वन् ॥ The root ह्वा does not take the augment य required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix णि, because the Samprasârana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasârana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As ह्वायकमिच्छति = ह्वायकीयति; the Desiderative of this verb is जिह्वायकीयिषति ॥

अभ्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्त्तते, तदभ्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्वयतिः, कश्चाभ्यस्तस्य ह्वयतिः, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्वयतेः प्रागेव द्विवचनात्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of ह्वा in the reduplicated form, in both the syllables.

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus जुहाव, जाह्वयते, and जुह्वयति ॥ This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pānini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vārtika.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विशेष्ये ह्वयतेर्द्रातो बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

34. In the Chhandas, the semivowel of this root is diversely vocalised.

Thus हुवे or ह्वयामि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. देवी सरस्वती हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana शप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवङ् ॥ So also ह्वयामि मरुतः शिवान्, ह्वयामि विदेवान् देवान् ॥ So also ह्वः as शुधीह्वम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्तते । चार्थतेर्द्वातोऽछन्दसि विषये बहुलं कीत्ययमदेशो भवति ॥

35. For चाय् is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus विधुना निचिक्चुः, नान्यं चिक्चुर्न निचिक्चुरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उत् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अग्नि-
व्योतिर्निचाय्यः ॥

अपस्पृधेयामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्त्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेयाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्,
आशीः, आशीर्त्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेयाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्त्ताः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते
छन्दसि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेयाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्त्ताः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पृध् 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेयाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेयाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अस्पृधेयाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पृध् with the preposition अप्, the vocalisation of र्, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अद् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पृधेयाम् ॥ From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उत्, there being vocalisation of र् and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then क् changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as : अर्च + उत् = अक् + उत् = अ + अक् + उत् = अ + अक् + उत् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + अक् + उत् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + न् + अक् + उत् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus यवमा अर्कमानृचुः, न वसुन्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनृचुः, आनृहुः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go' : there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इद् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युषिषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तित्याज ॥ From the root श्रीञ् 'to cook', is derived श्राता before the Nishthâ affix, श्री changed to श्रा irregularly. As श्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरि अधिश्रितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the श्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and श्रि when it refers to other

than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि आतो जुहोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आतः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root श्री, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्तिप् and क्त respectively. Before these श्री is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त ऊर्जम्, शीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।

नास्ति क्रमः ॥ ऋचि ऋत्तरपदादिलोपश्छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ र्यैर्मतौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

Thus व्यध्; has two semi-vowels व् and य्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विद्यः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्यञ्—संवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñāpaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व् being changed to उ, the य् is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the samprasāraṇa of व् coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य् and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of वि when followed by ऋच्, and there is elision of the ऋ of ऋच्, when it refers to Metres. As तिष्ठ ऋचो यस्मिन् = तृचं सुक्तं ॥ तृचं साम ॥ The word तृच् takes the samāsānta affix अ by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe शृचं कर्म ॥

Vārt:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रयि followed by the affix मनुप् as रयि + मन् = रइ + मन् = र + इ + मन् = र + इ + मन् = र + इ + मन् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवन्; as, आ रेवन्ति नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रयिमान् पुष्टिर्वदनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vārt:—There is vocalisation of कश्चा before मन् when a Name is meant: as कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥ This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कक्षीवत् is given.

लिटि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । लिटि परतो वयो यकारस्य संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

38. In the substituted root वय (II. 4. 41), the य in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न संप्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिट् is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिटि परतो वकारदेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory क (I. 2. 5), for the य् of वय् may optionally be substituted a व् ॥

Thus ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊयुः or ऊवुः ॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वश्चास्य of this sūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्यां किति वेशः ॥ Thus वे + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस् = उ + उवङ् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊवुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्चास्य ॥

वेशः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट्यित्यनुवर्त्तते । वेश्च तन्तुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of वे 'to weave' is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यजादि class and would have been vocalised before क्ति affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-क्ति affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्यपि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेश इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि च परतो वेशः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वे is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्यप् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या व्योहानावित्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

42. The semivowel of ज्या 'to grow old' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्यम् संवरणइत्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

43. The semivowel of व्या (व्ये) 'to cover' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

As प्रव्याय, उपव्याय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (सम्प्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यञ्ज्येत्यनुवर्त्तते । परस्परस्य व्यञ्ज्येत्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when व्ये preceded by परि takes the affix ल्यप् ॥

Thus परिवीर्य दृपम् or परिव्याय ॥ The augment तुक् presented by VI. 1. 71 is debarred by VI. 4. 2. which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आदेच उपदेशे प्रशिति ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, एचः, उपदेशे, अशिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातो रिति वर्त्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरुपदेशो तस्याकारदेशो भवति शिति तु प्रत्यये न भवति ॥

45. In a root, which in the system of grammatical instruction (i. e. in the Dhātupāṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ऐ, ओ and औ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

The word धातोः is to be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लौ-ग्लान्ता, ग्लानुम्, ग्लानव्यम्, शौ—निशान्ता, निशानुम्, निशानव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्त्ता from कृ, and हर्त्ता from हृ ॥ Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhātupāṭha? Observe चेता, स्तोता where च and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhātupāṭha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-1-शप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, म्लायति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ले, मम्ले ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिशदि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विभूस्तदशब्दं महणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative

case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending with it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एच् vowels, is not caused by the affixes that follow, but must take place prior to the occasion for the application of the affixes arises. Thus III. 1. 136 ordains क after roots ending in आ; so that ग्ले and म्ले are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुम्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply युच् to ग्ले and म्ले by presupposing it as आन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुम्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57

न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ् इत्येतस्य धातौ लिटि परत आकारादेशो न भवति ॥

46. There is not the substitution of आ for the Diphthong of the root व्ये when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus संविद्याय, संविद्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविद्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the णिन् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घञि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेश इति वर्त्तते । स्फुर स्फुल चलन इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोरेंचः स्थाने घञि परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

47. In the roots स्फुर् and स्फुल् 'to move', there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix घञ् follows.

Thus विस्फारः instead of विस्फोरः, and विष्फालः instead of विस्फोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ण after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीड्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इड्, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्रीञ् द्वव्यविनिर्भय, इड् अभ्यर्थन, जि अर्थे, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

48. The substitution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots क्री 'to by', इ 'to study' and जि 'to conquer.'

Thus क्रापयति, अभ्यापयति and आपयति ॥ The augment प् is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते । सिधु हिंसासंराद्धो रित्यस्य धातोर्पारलौकिकेयं वर्त्तमानस्यैचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of सिध्, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word पारलौकिक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix डच् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. 1. 109). The double Vṛiddhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, ग्रामं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See तपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्यवनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिद्धयति = ज्ञानावशेषमासादयति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोक) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधन of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for ए ॥ Why the substitution does not take place here: अन्नं साधयति, ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दास्यामि 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmanas'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of दान and not of the verb सिध्, the substitution does take place. When the verb सिध् directly and not through the mediation of another action, produces pāraloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Divādi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form सिध्यति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीडां ह्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीडाम्, ह्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिच उपदेशइति वर्त्तते । मीम् हिंसायाम्, डुमिच् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ह्यपि विषये चकारादिच विषये उपदेशेन प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिरलङ्घ्यस्य स्थानं आकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of मी 'to hurt', मि 'to scatter', and दी 'to decay' when the affix ह्यप् follows, as well as before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than शित्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आरब्धं भवति) ॥ So that these verbs should be understood as if they were enunciated with an आ, so that all rules of affixes relating to आ will apply to them. Thus प्रमाता, प्रमातव्यम्, प्रमातुम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातुम्, निमातव्यम्, निमाय, उपशता, उपशतव्यम्, उपशतुम्, उपशाय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhātupāṭha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in इ or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपग्राया वर्त्तते, ईषदुपशान्, formed by घञ् and युच् by taking 'ही=रा and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes भञ् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयतेः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपोनि वर्त्तते, आइच उपदेशानि च । लीड् श्लेषणइति दिवादिः ली श्लेषणइति कषादिस्तयोः-भयोऽपि यका निर्देशः स्मर्यते । लीयतर्द्धान्तर्ल्याप च एचश्च विषय उपदेशएवालोन्यस्य स्थानि विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निभीमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिपुष्टो वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhâtupâṭha, when the affix ल्यप् follows or such an affix as would demand this substitution of the diphthong.

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before सिन् affixes, and will become ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, गुर्=गोर् and ओ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvriti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sūtras. The words ल्याप and आइच उपदेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divâdi and Kriyâdi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातव्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vârt:—The आ substitution does not take place when the affix भञ् (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and खल् (III. 3. 126) come after नि, मि, मी and ली : as, ईषन्निमयः, निमयो वर्त्तते । ईषन्प्रमयः, प्रमयो वर्त्तते । ईषद् विलयः, विलयो वर्त्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वामुक्तापयते, इयेनो वार्त्तिकामुक्तापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhâṣhâ) The substitution of आ for the final of ई is *optional* when the sense of the root is not that of 'showing respect', 'subduing' or 'deceiving'. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is *compulsory*. See I. 1. 70.

खिदेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषति वर्त्तते । खिदेऽन्यइत्यस्य धातोरचः स्थानेऽछन्दसि विषय विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb खिद् 'to suffer pain', in the Uḥhandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चिखाह or चिखेह ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुरी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोरेपपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root गुर 'to exert' when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix णमुल् ॥

The affix णमुल् forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपगारमपगाम् or अपगारमपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते 'they are fighting with raised swords'.

चिस्फुरोर्णौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिम् स्फुर इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाणौ परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the roots चि and स्फुर when in the Causative.

Thus चापयति, चाययति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of प्) so also स्फोरयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रजने वीयतेः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाघोत्र वर्त्तते । वी गतिप्रजनकान्धसुनखादनेषु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजनं वर्त्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

55. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root वी in the causative, when meaning 'to conceive an embryo'.

The root वी Adâdi 39 means 'to go, to conceive, to shine, to eat, and to desire'. The substitution takes place when it means 'to impregnate or conceive'. Thus पुरो वानो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं प्राप्नोति ॥ The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विभेतेहेतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभेतेः, हेतुं भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाघोत्र वर्त्तते विभाषाति च । हेतुर्हि पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यज्ञयम्. स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्धेतुः, तन्नयं हेतुभयम्. तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य भिभी भयइत्यस्य धातोर्णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

56. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root भी 'to fear', in the Causative, when the fear is produced directly through the agent of the causative.

The words णौ and विभाषा are understood here: The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55). When the

Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the हेतुभय "the fear caused by the 'Hetu'". Thus मुण्डो भाषयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जडलो भाषयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment ष is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + ई i. e. भी ending in ई; and means भी ending in ई takes the augment ष ॥

Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकर्येन भाषयति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the कुञ्चिका and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयते ॥

वृत्ति ॥ गुणाविति वर्त्तते. हेतुभयइति च । नित्यमहणाद्विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । स्मिङ् ईषद्धसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतुभयर्थे णो परतो नित्यमाकरदेशो भवति ॥

57. There is invariably the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root स्मि 'to smile' in the Causative, when the astonishment is produced directly through the Agent of the Causative.

The words णो and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus मुण्डोजडलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकर्येन विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयति i. e. 'wondering, feeling astonished'. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भय by its connection with भीस्मि together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

सृजिदृशोर्ज्ञेयमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दृशोः, ज्ञलि, अम्, अकिति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सृज विसर्गे, दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाद्ज्ञलिवाकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽमागमो भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the ऋ of सृज् 'to create', and दृश् 'to see', when an affix beginning with a झल् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatory क् ॥

Thus सृज् + तुन् = सृ + अ + ज् + तुन् = सृष्ट् nom. + sing. सृष्टा, so also सृष्टुम्, सृष्टव्यम्, दृष्टा, दृष्टुम्, दृष्टव्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the गुण substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अस्माक्षीन् and अद्वाक्षीन् the Vriddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अम् had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe सर्जानम्, दर्शनम् with यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe सृष्टः, दृष्टः before the affix क् ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sūtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to nouns follow. Thus रज्जुसृङ्ख्याम्, देवदृग्ख्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे नत्पत्यये कार्ये applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋत्, उ
पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेश इति वक्तुं, ह्रस्वमकृतीति च । उपदेशोऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ऋकारोपधस्य झलादावकृति प्रत्यये
परतोऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the
ऋ of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as
anudâṭṭa, when such roots end in a consonant having a ऋ as
penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a
mute or sibilant and not having an Indicatory क ॥

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also ह्रस्वमकृति ॥ Thus वप्ता or
तर्पिता or तप्ता, द्रप्ता, दापेता or दप्ता ॥ The roots तृप् 'to satisfy', and हृप् 'to be happy
to release', belong to Divâdi class, sub-class Radhâdi, and they take the aug-
ment इद् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above : for
these roots are also anudâṭṭa in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâṭṭa in the Upadesâ or the system
of grammatical instruction"? Observe वदां, वदुम्, वदव्यम्, from वद उद्यमन् which
is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory ऊ it takes इद् optionally.
Why do we say 'having a penultimate ऋ letter'? Observe भत्ता, छत्ता ॥ Why
do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe
तर्पणम्, हर्षणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicatory क'? Observe तृप्तः,
हृतः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a ह्रस्व consonant this augment will not
be inserted, as तर्पणम्, हर्षणम् ॥

शीर्षदछन्दसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शीर्षन्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति शब्दान्तरं शिरःशब्देन समानार्थं छन्दसि विषये निपात्यते ॥

60. The word शीर्षन् is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head'. This is not a
substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शांष्णां
हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते शीर्ष्णोऽर्धाग्न्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only
one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्धिते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वक्तुं । आदेशायमिष्यते स कथं तद्धित इति हि परं निमित्तमुपादीयते स तद्विरूपां
प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाश्रित्यति । यकाराद्यै तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवान् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा केशेषु ॥

61. There is the substitution of this stem शीर्षन्
for शिरस् when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here. This rule teaches substitution.
The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we
must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षयो हि मुख्यो भवति,

शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यन् is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word शीर्षण् retains its original form before this affix यन्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति = शिरस्यात्, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vārt.—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षण्यः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

अत्रि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजासौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षशब्दोऽदिशो भवति ॥

62. There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हस्तिशीर्षः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इप् (IV. 1. 96). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥ Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हस्तिशीर्षः by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) arises this difficulty :—व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हस्तिशीर्षः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हस्ति-शीर्षः + व्यङ् = हस्तिशीर्षण्य + य (VI. 1. 61) = हस्तिशीर्षण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हस्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हस्तिशीर्षः + व्यङ् = हस्तिशीर्ष + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or ऌपादेश ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthānivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānivyat to इच् affix.

This sūtra is not of Pāṇini, but is really a Vārtika raised to the rank of a sūtra by later authors.

पद्मोमास् इति शसन्त्युपपन्नोऽपत्यकञ्चकन्नुद्भासञ्चस्पृष्टिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, भास्, हत्, निष्, अत्, यूयन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्, आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाद इन्त नासिका मारा हृदय निशा असृज् यूप शेष यक्रन् शक्रन् उदक आसर्न इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थानं शस्प्रश्नप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हत् निष् अरात् युषन् शेषन् यकन् शकन् उदन् आसन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पशविसु मांसं चानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यत्तस्यधुद्रेषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगर्योनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—पद् for पाद, दन् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मांस, हृद् for हृदय, निश for निशा, असन् for अस्त्य, यूपन् for यूप, दीपन् for दास, यकन् for यकृत, शकन् for शकृत, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन, the Sidhanta Kaumudi gives the original as आस्य which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sūtra from VI. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निपदश्चतुरो जलिः पद्मवर्तय मोदुहम् ॥ 2. इन्—या इती धावति तस्ये भ्रावइन् ॥ 3. नस्—सूकरस्त्वखनत्रसा ॥ 4. मास्—मांसित्वा पदयामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5. हृद्—हृदा पृथेन मनसा जातवदसम् ॥ 6. निश—अमावास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7. अरान्—असित्को स्नादेशेति ॥ 8. यूपन्—या पात्राणि यूपेण आसिचनानि ॥ 9. दीपन्—यत्ते दीपेणो दीर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10. यकन्—यक्ता दधति ॥ 11. शकन्—शक्ता वधति ॥ 12. उदन्—उद्रे दिव्यस्थि नावा ते ॥ 13. आसन्—आसनि कि लभे मधुनि ।

Why do we say when the weak terminations शस् &c follow? Observe पादो ते प्रतिपीड्यो नासको ते कृशः ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्ममुद्वर्तितस्य च ।

व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैतन्त्यमिवारणाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, शला दोषणी, ककुदोषणी याचते महादेवः ॥

Vart :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पन् for पतना, and स्तु for सानुः as यन्नीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृस्त्तु मर्त्यम् for पृतनानुमर्त्यम्, न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिस्तुषु for अधिस्तानुषु ॥

Vart :—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यन् and तस्, and the word क्षुद्र follow : as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः ॥ The यन् is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vart :—The substitution of नस् for नासिका before the affix यन् does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as : नासिस्थो वर्णः 'a nasal letter' नासिस्थं नगरम् ॥

धात्वादेः षः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः षः, सः ॥

वृणि ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबभ्रातुष्विष्वक्स्कीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the ष being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhâtupâtha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhâtupâtha with an initial ष, change it for स ॥ Thus बह—सहते, बिभ्र—सिचति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कषति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this 'ष' is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of सिसव we have सिसव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhātupāṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhātupāṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्मि, स्वद्, स्विद्, स्विज् and स्वप्, though followed by व् or ड् ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सृप्, सृज्, स्त, स्था, संक, and सृ ॥

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of छिच् and वृष्क् ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायन् are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so छिच्—छिवात्, वृष्क्—वृष्कते ॥ The word छिच् contains in it two roots छिच् and वृष्च्, one with ड, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीव्यते, देष्ठीव्यते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has थ ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरदिस्त्रियुवर्त्तते । धातोरदिर्णकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ण of the root in the Dhātupāṭha.

The phrase धात्वादेशः is understood here. Thus णीञ्—नयति, णम—ममति, णह—नहति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This 'does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारमिच्छति = णकारीयात् ॥ The roots are exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with ण for a similar reason as they are exhibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—नृ, नन्निर् नर्दि, नक्क, नादि, नाध् and नाय् ॥

लोपोऽर्थोऽर्थे लि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरिति प्रकृतं यत् तदधात्वादिस्त्रियुवर्त्तते पुनर्धातुमृह्णान्निवृत्तम् । तेन धातोरधातोश्च वकारयकारयोर्वलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

The final य् or व् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वल्-consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव्+वल् (III. 2. 107)=दिव्+दिव्+वल्=दिविवल् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवान्सी, दिदिवान्सः ॥ Thus ऊय्+त=ऊतं, 'spun', कृय्+त=कृतं, 'made a noise'. So also the affix दक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix दक्, व is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा+एय्+र=गोधेरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102.) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव्—जीरवानुः (by Uṇādi affix जीवे रदानुक्) from लिङ्—अस्त्रमाणम् formed by the Uṇādi affix मनिङ् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊङ् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य्?" Observe ऊय्यते, कृय्यते when य् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus काङ्ठ्य+क्विप्=काङ्ठ्य् (VI. 4. 48)=काङ्ठ्य्+व्=काङ्ठ्यः ॥ So लोलुप्य+क्विप्=लोलुप्यः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल्-consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चानि by samprasāraṇa, and वव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by इलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । वेरिति क्विबादयो विशेषाननुबन्धानुस्मृत्त्यसामान्येन गृह्यन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

67. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विङ्, णिव् &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprīkta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus व्रह्महा, भूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix क्विङ् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पादभाक्, तुरीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix णिव् is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprīkta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe इर्विः formed by the affix विङ् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृविः formed क्विङ्, see Uṇādi Sūtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by

I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्चि words are 'adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हल्ङ्याश्चो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, ङ्याप्भ्यः, दीर्घान्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधने द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । हलन्तान् ङ्यन्ताश्चान्ताश्च दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिर्न सिद्धयति । राचु तैरेव लोपः स्यादलस्तस्माद्विधीयते ॥

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स् and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्तं हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of सु after a consonant :—राजन् + स् = राजान् (VI. 4. 8) + ० = राजा, तक्षा, उखाद्यन्, पर्णध्वन् ॥ After a डी :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्ङ्गरी ॥ After आप् :—खट्वा, बहुराजा, कारी षगन्त्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अग्निर्भवान् (भृ + लङ् + तिप् = अ + भृ + भृ + त् = अ + भृ + भृ + त् (VI. 1. 10) = अ + भर् + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 66 and I. 1. 51) = अ + भ + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 60) = अ + ब + भृ + त् (VIII. 4. 54) = अ + बि + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 76) = अ + बि + भर् + त् (VII. 3. 84) = अबिभर् + त् = अबिभर् ॥ So also अजागर्भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोऽन्न, अच्छिनोऽन्न ॥ (भिद् + लङ् + सिप् ॥ The द् is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe घामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्भिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु, ति and सि"? Observe अभेस्सीत् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to तिप् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति ॥ Why do we say 'the consonant is elided'? Observe बिभेत्, चिच्छेत् ॥ Here the अपृक्ता affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), न् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तसा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI. 4. 8)=राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्, and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Books), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखासन् and पर्णधन् ॥ उखा+सन्+क्विप् III. 2. 76=उखा+सन् (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखासन्+स्=उखासन्स्; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखासन्, here we cannot change the स् into द् by VIII. 2. 72 for स् is not final in a pada, for Rule VIII. 2. 23 is considered as not to have taken effect. So also in the case of अभिनोऽत्र ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhâdi class. Thus भिद्+लङ्+सिप्=अ+भिद्+इनम्+स्=अ+भिनद्+स्=अभिनर्+स् (द् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75)=अभिनर्स् ॥ If we elide the final स् of the conjoint by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिनर्+अत्र, the र् would not be changed into उ to form अभिनोऽत्र by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of स् is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अत्रिभर भवान्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संयोगान्तलोप rule is restricted by रात्सस्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of न् in अत्रिभर्न् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्हस्वात्सुबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तमिति न धिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसुत्रे पुनरपृक्तग्रहणं कृतम् । एङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताच्च परा हल्लुप्यन्तस्येवंसंबुद्धमवति ॥

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The word लोप is understood here also; as well as हल् ॥ The word अपृक्त however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sūtra) indicates. The affix of Vocative is the same as that of the nominative. By VII. 3. 108, the short vowel of the stem is replaced by a guṇa vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have अग्ने and वायो for अग्नि and वायु; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ई and ऊ of the feminine: as नदि and वधु for नदी and वधू ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix स् is elided after

all the above words. **अग्ने !, हे वायो !, हे देवदत्त !, हे नदि !, हे वधु !** The Vocative Singular of **कुण्ड** a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. 1. 24, **अम्** replaces **स्** of the nominative, the **अ** of **अम्** and the final **अ** of **कुण्ड** coalesce into one **अ** by VI. 1. 107, which becomes **कुण्डम्** ॥ Here by the rule that 'consonant' only is to be elided, we elide **म्** only (and not **अ** which becomes a part of the word by VI. 1. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now **म्** is not an **अपृक्तं हल्** for it is part of the affix **अम्**, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of **aprikta** into this sūtra. Thus we have **हे कुण्ड !** ॥ But in **हे कतरत्** ! there is not the elision of the **त्** of the affix **अत्**, the substitute of **सु** for the affix there is **अद्** (VII. 1. 25). This affix being **ङित्** causes the elision of the final **अ** of **कतर** (VI. 4. 143), and we have **कतर् + अत्**, here we have not a **prātipadika** which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence **त्** is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word **एङ्** is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than *lopa*. Therefore in **हे अग्नि + सु**, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for **ह**, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided.

शेछन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लोपा भवति ॥

70. In the Chhandas, the elision of the ease-ending **इ** (शि) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional.

Thus **या क्षेत्रा** or **यानि क्षेत्राणि**, **या वना** or **यानि वनानि** ॥

ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परतो ह्रस्वरश्च तुगागमो भवति ॥

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment **त्** (**तुक्**) when a Kṛit-affix having an indicatory **प्** follows.

Thus **अग्नि + चि + क्विप् = अग्निचित्**, so also **सोमनुत्** ॥ Similarly **प्रहृत्य** and **उपस्तृत्य** formed by the affix **ल्यप्** ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe **आलूय, ग्रामणीः** ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory **प्**"? Observe **कृतम्, हुतम्** ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe **पदुत्तर, पदुतमः**, with the Taddhita-affixes **तरप्** and **तमप्** ॥ In the compound **ग्रामणिकुलम्**, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment **तुक्**, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a *Bahiranga* rule, and the present rule is an *Antaranga* one. The maxim is **असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे** ॥ "That which is *Bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is *Antaranga* is to take effect".

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयमनुवृत्तिं पदमेकवर्जमिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सुवादिन उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

72. In the following sūtras upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् “in an unbroken flow of speech”, should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus दध्यन्न, मध्वन्न the इ and उ are changed to य and व when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have दधि अन्न, मधु अन्न ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वस्य तुगिति वर्त्तते । छकारे परतः संहितायां विषये ह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

73. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to च by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the भागमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छित्तुः, चिच्छित्तुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate चि, but of the short इ only; and therefore it is not elided by ह्रस्वादि-क्षोष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim भावयथावयवः सपुत्रायावयवो भवति “the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole”. Here त् is a part of the abhyāsa syllable चि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चि of which इ is the part.

आङमाङोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ औङ्, माङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते, छति च । आङोऽङित ईषदादिषु चतुर्वर्त्येषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङश्च प्रतिषेधवचनस्य छकारे परतस्तुगागमो भवति ॥

74. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषदर्थः) 2. with verbs, is a prefix (क्रियायोगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्यादा). This sūtra ordains तुक् necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईषच्छाया = आच्छाया; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छाद्यात्, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छत्सीन्, माच्छित् ॥ The इ in आङ्

and माङ् shows that औ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachaniya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the न् is not necessary in the following :—आछाया मानयति, प्रमाछन्दः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छन्दः॥ The आ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आछाया "Oh the shade". The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माङ् by the prefix प्र and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix टाप्, and the word ending in टाप् has not the indicatory इ ॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ छे तुगिति वर्त्तते । दीर्घात्परो यश्चकारस्तास्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

75. The augment त् is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

Thus द्वीच्छाति, म्लेच्छाति, अपचाच्छायते, विचाच्छायते ॥ The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तात्, वा, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ दीर्घाच्छेत्तुगिति वर्त्तते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यश्चकारस्तास्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्तो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ विश्वजनादीनां छन्दसिवा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

76. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कूदीच्छाया or कूदीछाया, कुबलीच्छाया or कुबलीछाया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a padânta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थ पदविधि) not applying. Thus निष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर द्वदत्तस्य, "let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta". Here कुमारी and छत्रं are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vart :—The augment, त् is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विश्वजन &c. As, विश्वजनच्छत्रम् or विश्वजनछत्रम्, नछायां कुर्वोपराम् or नछायां कुर्वोपराम् ॥

इको यणचि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण्, अचि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत्, इको यणदेशो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सत्रणदीर्घाधनार्थं यणदेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for

the application of this rule. Thus दधि + अच् = दध्यच्, मधु + अच् = मध्यच्, कर्ह + अर्थम् = कर्हर्थम्, हर्ह + अर्थम् = हर्हर्थम्, ल भाक्ति = लाक्तातिः ॥

Vart:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्न ३ इ इन्द्रं = अग्न ३ विन्द्रम्, पदा ३ उ उत्कम् = पदा ३ वुत्कम्, अग्न ३ इ आशा = अग्न ३ याशा, पदा ३ उ आशा = पदा ३ वाशा ॥ भो ३ इ इन्द्रम् = भो ३ विन्द्रम् ॥ The phrase 'when a vowel follows' exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

एचो ऽयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अच् - अच् - आय्-आवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने ऽचि परतो ऽय् अच् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

78. For the vowels ए, ऐ, औ and औ are respectively substituted अच्, आय्, अच् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Thus चि + ल्युट् = चे + अन = चयनम्. लो + अन = लवनं; चै + अक = चायकः, लौ + अक = लावकः ॥ So also कयते, व्ययते, याववरुणदि, रु + युच् (III. 2. 148) = रो + अन = रवणः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमचः स्थाने वान्तादेश औकारस्य अच् औकारस्याव् स यकारसौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ गोयूतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ भवपरिमाणे च ॥

79. The substitution of अच् and आव् for औ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz. अव् and भाव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in व् (viz. अव् and भाव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be औ and औ ॥ Thus बभु + यञ् = बाभो + य = बाभयः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शकव्यदारु, पिचव्यः कापसिः, नाव्यो (IV. 4. 91) ह्वः ॥ Why do we say "अच् and आव्"? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयाति, no change of ए before य ॥ Why do we say "before य"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यति in the Vedas. As गो + युति = गव्यूति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा घृतेर्गव्यूतिषुस्तम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमभ्यान् गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गव्यूति meaning कौशयुगम् ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एच् इति वृत्तं ॥ वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च ॥ धातोर् एच् तन्निमित्तो यकारादिप्रत्ययनिमित्तस्तस्य यकारसौ प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

80. For the final diphthongs औ and औ of a root, are substituted अच् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचने वान्तायि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus लृ forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84. Thus लृ + य = लो + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू - पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लृ + ण्यत् (III. 1. 125) = लो + य = अवदय लाव्यम् and अवदय पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of बभ्रु + य = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो + य = गव्य, नौ + य = नाव्य, where ओ and औ are not caused by the affix, but are integral parts of the stem before the affixes were added. Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते = Here by Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15) वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ VI. 1. 87), we have ओ + यन्त = ओयन्ते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also ओयन्त, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ and औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - जय्यौ, शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्द्रास्त्वोर्यति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायादेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and जय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do, the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = क्षय्यः (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also जय्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? "Observe क्षयं पापं, जेतो वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणानेर्द्रातोस्तदर्थे कथार्थं यत्स्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥

82. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of "exposed or put out for sale, saleable".

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that'.

i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As कय्या गोः, कय्यः कय्यलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति कय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भय्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवय्ये, च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यन्ति प्रत्यये परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽयं शो निपात्यते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ह्रस्व्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवय्या are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी + यत्, and प्रवय्या from प्र + वी + यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भय्यं किलासीन् ॥ वत्सतरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus विभेति अस्माद् = भय्यम् "frightening or fearable". The word प्रवय्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवेय is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेयम्, प्रवेयम् in secular literature.

Vart :—The word ह्रस्व्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As हरे भवा = ह्रस्व्या आपः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (हरे + य = ह्रस्व + य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । ख्यत्यात्परस्येति प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वदितव्यम् ॥

84. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. In every sūtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādeśa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches 'There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel'. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एकः पूर्वपरयोः i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खद्वा + हन्त्रः = खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter आ and the succeeding letter ह ॥ The words पूर्व पर show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of one only or of each one separately. Thus in आद् गुणः (अचि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आत् is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the guṇa operation would have taken place on the letter following it: so also अचि is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the

guṇa operation would have taken place on the *preceding*; so it is not clear of what letter there should be guṇa substitution, of the preceding or the succeeding. But the present rule shows it must operate on both simultaneously. The word एक 'single', shows that a separate or a different substitute does not operate: i. e. the substitute must be one, there should not be two separate substitutes one for each sthāni, such as we find in the sūtra VIII. 2. 42 (रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च दः, "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhā, after र and द, and of the preceding द"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and द्, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get *two* न, as भिद् + त = भिन् + न = भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhāṣya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवच्च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त - आदि - वत् , च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्तते पूर्वपरयोरिति च । एकः पूर्वपरयोरिति बोधमेकदेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवति, परस्यादिवद्भवति ॥

85. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in the last, is considered in the light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An âdeśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekâdeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra. The sense of this atideśa sūtra is this: as the beginning and the end of a thing are both *included* in the thing itself, and therefore when the thing is mentioned, the beginning and the end are both taken; so is the case with this single substitute. Thus to the stem ब्रह्मबन्धु we add ऊ the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now उ + ऊ = ऊ (VI. 1. 101) i. e. ब्रह्मबन्धु + ऊ = ब्रह्मबन्धू ॥ Here' ब्रह्मबन्धु is a Nominal-stem (प्रातिपदिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prâtipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prâtipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धू the term prâtipadika and by virtue of this designation we can add the case-endings to it by IV. 1. 1. But for this rule, we could not have added the case-endings to it, because by virtue of the feminine affix ऊ the word would have rather ceased to be a prâtipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending अ of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. 1. 88, this ekâdeśa औ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix औ, and the final of वृक्ष and thus the word वृक्षौ gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it ends in the सुप् affix औ ॥

This अन्तादिवद्भाव does not apply in rules relating to letters i. e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खद्ग + भा = खद्गा ॥ Here the

ekādeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the भिस् is changed to ऐस् after a nominal-stem ending in अ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्वा will not end in ऐः, but will be खद्वाभिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of हृ or ह्रा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the व् is changed to ज्, and we have जुह्वआ = जुहउआ which by VI. 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of उ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix णल् (अ) is changed in ओ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै + अभ्यः = अस्या अभ्यः (the य् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इहम् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 114 स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ ; as अ + स्या + ए = अस्यै ॥ Here ऐ is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ऐ should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthāni of the single-substitute (ekādeśa) is the sum of the preceding and the succeeding, both taken collectively is replaced by one, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthāni: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthāni, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthāni only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthāni, the rule of sthānivād bhāva will not apply to an ekādeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekādeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sūtra.

षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकादेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीत्यर्थः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणङीहसु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single' ādeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स would have to be changed to ष, or when the augment त् (तुक्) is to be added.

The word असिद्ध means not-accomplished i. e. the operation caused by its having taken effect is not produced. The word asiddha always debars operations dependent upon the ādeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवचनमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus कोऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष, ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = कर् + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = कउ + असिचत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिचत् (अ-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिचत् (ओ-अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after ओ required to be changed into ष, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कोऽस्य, योऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, योऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अभीत्य there is the addition of त् by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a *long* vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekādeśa of ई for इ-इ, and this ekādeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक् augment. Similarly in प्र-इ-इ-तुक्-इ-अ-प्रेत्य. Here also अ-इ-इ-ए is considered asiddha.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasāraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending डि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इद् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकहृषु = शकान् हृषयति, then we add क्तिप्, before which there is vocalisation of वृ, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekādeśa: as शकह्वा-इ-क्तिप् = शकहृउआ-इ-उ (VI. 1. 15) + शकहृ (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकहृ-इ-सु = शकहृषु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to ष the ekādeśa उ for उ-इ-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिवीषु (परि + वी + क्तिप् = परि + वृइए + क्तिप् = परिवि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix डि we have:—वृक्ष-इ-इ = वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेछत्रम् ॥ Of the affix इद् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचै-इ-छत्रम् = अपचैच्छत्रम् or अपचै-छत्रम् ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekādeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals दीर्घ or long. Here the ekādeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optinal* and not compulsory.

आदृगुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचीत्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णाचोः स्थाने एको गुण आदेशो भवति ॥

87. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ-*ya* vowel = guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + इदम् = तवेदम्, खट्वा + इदम् = खट्वेदम्, माला + इन्द्रः = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खट्वा + ईहते = खट्वेहते, तव + उदकम् = तवादकम्, खट्वा + उदकम् = खट्वादकम्, तव + अग्र्यः = तवाग्र्यः, खट्वा + अग्र्यः = खट्वाग्र्यः, तव + लकारः = तवल्लकारः, खट्वा + लकारः = खट्वल्लकारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of ल being अ is always followed by ल, as that of क् is followed by र् ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्तते । अवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णैचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेचिरेचो भवति ॥

88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-*i*-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एङका = ब्रह्मैङका, खद्वा + एङका = खद्वाैङका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खद्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खद्वाैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खद्वा + ओदनः = खद्वाौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मौपगवः, खद्वा + औपगवः = खद्वाौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्तुसु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊतसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, भाविति च । तदेतदेज्जप्रहणमतेरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरव्यभिचारानुष्ठानासंभवात् । इण् गतावित्येतस्मिन्धातविति एध वृद्धावित्येतास्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यद्वर्णं ततश्च परो योच् तयोः पूर्वप-
द्योरवर्णाच्चोः स्थाने वृद्धिरकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अक्षाद्विन्धां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वादीरोरण्यावृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रावृहोदाढोषैव्येषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋते च तृतीयासमासे ऽवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रयत्सरकम्बलवसनानामृणं वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋणदशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-*i*-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-*i*-ऊ of ऊत् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊत् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एधि = उपैधि, उपैमि; उप-*i*-एधते = उपैधते, प्रैधते; प्रष्ठ-*i*-ऊहा = प्रष्ठौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :—उप + आ-*i*-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-*i*-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

वार्तिकः—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सना ॥

Vart:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम् स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगता (Ad. 8) स्वैनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is स्वैरं = स्वनाभिप्रायेणेन गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78).

Vart:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊह, ऊढि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रैषः, प्रैष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the root इष् 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्; and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यत् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vriddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रैषः and प्रैष्यः ॥

Vart:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in ष is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन क्तः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Vart:—The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows the following:—प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्णम् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्णम् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vart:—So also when the words ऋण and दश are followed by ऋणः—as, ऋणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word ऋणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो य आट् तयोः पूर्वपरयोरा-
उच्योः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ।

90. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of एचि ceases: that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vriddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिट्, ऐक्षत्, ऐक्षिष्यत्, औभीत्, औद्भीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षदर्शने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ बज्ज आर्जवे (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudī the आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadī*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples:—बहुभ्यसी-आट्-ङे=बहुभ्यस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लट् ॥

The च 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उस्, ओ and आइ follow, is superseded when the preceding vowel is आइ ॥ Thus औखीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ-। ऊढा = ओढा, तमिच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

उपसर्गादिति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादिकारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं वृद्धिरकारिणो भवति ॥

91. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vriddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उप + ऋच्छति = उपाच्छति, प्राच्छति, उपाध्नोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खट्वच्छति, मालच्छति, प्रच्छकोदेशः = प्रगता ऋच्छका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ऋ follows'? Observe उप-। इत = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after ऋ indicating that short ऋ is to be taken? Observe उप + ऋकारी यति = उपकारीयति ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long ऋ ॥ Why have we employed the word धातु, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धातु? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129 which causes प्रकृतभावः or non-sandhi of ऋ ॥ The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakṛti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the ऋ of a Dhātu.

वा सुप्यापिशलेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, सुपि, आपिशलेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । उपसर्गादिति धाताविति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृत्कारादौ परतोऽवर्णान्तादुपसर्गात्पूर्वपरयोरपिशलराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरकारिणो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Āpīśali, the Vriddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus उपार्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपल्कारीयति or उपाल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ल are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra includes ल also. The name of the Grammarian Āpīśali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतोऽमृशसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शसोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औतोऽमृशसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोरकाराभादेशो भवति ॥

93. For ओ of a Nominal stem-**अ**, of the Accusative case-ending **अम्** and **अस्**, the single substitute is **आ** ॥

The word **आतः** is a compound of **आ** + **आतः** ॥ Thus **गो - अम्**, = **गाम्**, **गो-अस्** = **गाः** ॥ Thus **गां पश्य**, **गाः पश्यः** ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also **द्यां** or **द्याः पश्य**; as the word **द्या** is also a nominal stem ending in **ओ** ॥ The Sārva-nāmsthāna affixes are **णिन्** after this word also (see VII. 1. 90.) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this **आ** debars the Vṛiddhi. The word **अम्** here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix **श्चस्**, and as the word **सुप्** of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore **अम्** the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have **अचिनवम्**, **असुनवम्** ॥

एङि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव. उपसर्गाद्भाताविति च. अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेकादौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शकन्धादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवं चानियोगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वा० ॥ ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमत्रादिषु छन्दांस पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

94. For the **अ** or **आ** of the Preposition-**ए** or **ओ** of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words **आन्**, **उपसर्गाद्भातौ** are understood here. In an upasarga ending in **अ** or **आ** followed by a root beginning with **ए** or **ओ**, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (**पररूप**) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88. Thus **उपलयति**, **प्रेलयति**, **उपोषति**, **प्रापति** ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus **उपेङकीयति** or **उपेङकीयति**, **उपोदनीयति** or **उपोदनीयति** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः &c. As **शक-अ-अन्धुः** = **शकन्धुः**, **कुल + अदा** = **कुलदा**, **सीम + अन्तः** = **सीमान्तः** 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is **सीमान्तः** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when **एव** follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus **इह-एव** = **इहैव**; **अद्य-एव** = **अद्यैव** ॥ When the sense is that of **नियोग**, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as **इहैव भव**, **माऽन्यत्र गाः** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when **ओतु** and **ओष्ठ** are compounded with another word: as **स्थूल ओतुः** = **स्थूलौतुः** or **स्थूलोतुः**, so also **बिम्बोष्ठी** or **बिम्बोष्ठी** ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as **तिष्ठ देवदत्तोष्ठं पश्य** 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when **एमन्** &c. follow. Thus **अपां स्वा एमन्** = **अपां स्वमन्** ॥ So also **अपां स्वा ओग्रन्** = **अपां स्वोग्रन्** ॥

ओमाङोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव. अवर्णान्ताशोमि आङि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition ओङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus का-1-ओम् = कोम् ; या-1-ओम् = योम् ; as कामित्यवोचत्, यामित्यवोचत् ; आ-1-ओढा = ओढा ; then अद्य-1-ओढा = अद्योढा, कदा-1-ओढा = कदोढा, तदा + ओढा = तदोढा ॥ आ + ऋद्यात् = अर्द्यात्, then अद्य-1-अर्द्यात् = अद्यर्द्यात् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ति, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिष्वेव । अवर्णादपदान्तादसि पूर्वपरयोराहुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उस the Tense-affix, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. This debars the guṇa substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus भिन्धा-1-उस् = भिन्धुः, छिन्धा-1-उस् = छिन्धुः ॥ अदा-1-उस् = अदुः, (लुङ् of दृ) अया-1-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्धु + यासुद् + क्षि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्धु + य + उस् (जुस् replaced क्षि III. 4. 108) = भिन्धुस् ॥ अदा + सिच् + क्षि = अदा + ० (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अदा + उस् = अदुः ॥ अ + या + क्षि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of क्षि in लिङ् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चकृ-1-उस् = चकुः ॥ So also from श्री we have अश्रिभे-1-उस् = अश्रिभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उस् = कोस्, का + उषिता = कोषिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तादिति वृत्ते । अकारादपदान्ताहुणे परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानि पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

97. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

Thus पच-1-क्ष-1-अन्ति = पच-1-अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. 1. 101. पच + ए = पचे, यज + ए = यजे, here the Vṛiddhi is debarred (VI. 1. 88). Why do we say "after the short vowel अ?" Observe या-1-अन्ति = यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why do we say when followed by 'a Guṇa letter?' Observe

अपच-1-इ = अपचे, अयजे ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as
 ण्ड-1-अग्रं = ण्डाग्रम्, श्रुताग्रम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्फुटवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्फुटवर्णमेव केन चित्सादृश्येन तदव्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-
 छब्दस्तस्यादितौ पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच्च इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-1-इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पटन्-1-इति = पटितं, घटन् + इति = घटिति, झटन् + इति = झटिति, छमन् + इति = छमिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगत्-1-इति = जगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद् + इति = मरदिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पटन् + अच = पटच्च ॥

Vart:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—सत् + इति = सदिति ॥ How do you explain the form घटदिति in the following:—घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुदैर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटन्-1-इति but घटद्-1-इति ॥

नाम्नेडितस्यान्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्नेडितस्य, अन्यस्य, तु, वा ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्नेडितस्य यो ऽच्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-1-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पटत्पटदिति or पटत्पटेति करोति (पटत्पटत् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पटेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word is reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटत्पदिति करोति ॥ Here we apply the preceding sûtra. The âmreḍita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. 1. 2).

नित्यमाम्नेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्नेडिते, डाचि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातो ऽन्यस्येति चानुवर्त्तते । डाच्यपरं यदांनेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्या-
 छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चाद्यस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial

consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute. 1,

Thus पटपटा करात् (V. 4. 57), इममा कराति ॥ पटत्पटत्-1-डाच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त्+प्=प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. 1. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अत् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे ऽचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घे एकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णदीर्घत्वे ऋति ऋवा वचनम् ॥ वा० ॥ लृति लृवा वचनम् ॥

101. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus वण्ड + अमम् = वण्डाभम्, वधि + इन्द्रः = वधीन्द्रः, मधु + उक्ते = मधूक्ते and हानृ + कृभ्य होतृभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने-1-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe वधि-1-अन्न = वध्यन्न ॥ The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुविसवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ् झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the महणकवाच्यं (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नाञ् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the long ई and श would be savarna.

Vārt:—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional: so also with लृ ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c).[•] Thus होतृऋकारः = होतृकारः or होतृकारः, so also हानृ-1-लृकारः = होतृलृकारः or होतृलृकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of लृ is ऋ ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्व - सवर्णः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तत्साहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । तस्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे एकादेशो भवति ॥

102. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अक्षः and वायुः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्व रूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-1-औ = अग्नी ; वायु-1-औ = वायू ; वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षाः, so also वृक्षाः, वृक्षान्, वृक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-1-अस् &c), the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them : " but not this पूर्वस्वर्ण lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अत्रि 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-1-स् = वृक्षः, वृक्षाः ॥ The word अक्ष 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus ना-1-औ = नावौ ॥ Why do we say 'a vowel homogenous to the antecedent ?' The substitute will not be one homogenous to the second or the subsequent vowel. The दीर्घ or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel.

तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, शसः, नः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वस्वर्णदीर्घादुत्तरस्य शसोऽवयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारादेशो भवान् ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-1-शस् = वृक्ष-1-अन् = वृक्षान् ॥ So also अग्नीन्, वायून्, कर्तृन्, होतृन्, पण्डितान्, स्थिरान्, भरतान्, पश्य &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कन् meaning a figure like a चञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्ति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चञ्चा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चञ्चाः पश्य, वधिकाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'after such a long vowel homogenous with the first?' The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for औ-1-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here स् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृक्षाः, वृक्षाः endings in अस् Nom. Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनुः, वहीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिचि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णादिचि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

104. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Thus वृक्षौ, प्लक्षौ, खट्वे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. i. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच् (a vowel other than अ)?" Observe वृक्षाः here VI. i. 102 applies.

दीर्घाज्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परतः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

105. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

Thus कुमार्यो, कुमार्यः, ब्रह्मबन्धौ, ब्रह्मबन्धः ॥

वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इचि च परतो वा पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

106. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels in these cases last mentioned.

Thus माहूः or माहूयः, पिण्डीः or पिण्डयः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वं एकादेशो भवति ॥

107. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ' of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष-+अम्=वृक्षम् (VII. i. 24) प्लक्षम्, अग्नि-+अम्=अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्व 'antecedent, first' in the sūtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी + अम्=कुमारीम् the ई would have been of three mātrās or measures, as it comes in the room of ई + अ, the aggregate mātrās of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शर्मा or शर्म्यं, गौरी or गौर्यम् ॥ अम् is the

ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. I. 23; 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणाच्च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

108. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semivowel and the subsequent vowel.

The word पूर्वः is understood here. When a vocalised semi-vowel is followed by a vowel, the vocalised vowel is alone substituted, the subsequent vowel merging in it. Thus यञ्-+क्त = इअञ्-+क्त (VI. I. 15) = इट्क् (इ-+अ = इ); so उअप् (अप्-+क्त = उ अप्-+क्त), अह् + इत्त = अह्-+इत्त = अहीत्त ॥ Had there not been this merging, the vocalisation would become either useless or the two vowels would have been heard separately without sandhi. Thus in वप् + त = उअप् + त, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to इ by इकोयणश्च and the word would again assume the form वप् ॥ But this यणादेश would cause samprasârâṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ अप् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. I. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानौ मित्रावरुणौ or इज्यमानौ ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेश when there is no purvavâd-bhâva we do you form यज्यमान्; it ought to be इ अज्यमान्" ? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsequent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vâd-bhâva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इट् &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यणादेश will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasârâṇa. Thus शकान् ह्यान्त = शकह् + विवप् = शकह् उ आ = शकह् ॥ Here आ which is in the same अङ्ग with हु merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शकह् + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the samprasârâṇa ऊ does not merge therein, and we have शकहौ ॥ Similarly शकह् + अर्थे = शकहर्थम् ॥ In fact, when *once* the para-purvâtva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ए into इट्, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasârâṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

एङ्: पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्:, पदान्तात्, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वरूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

109. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus अग्ने-1-अच् = अग्नेऽच्, वायो-1-अच् = वायोऽच् ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अच् and अच् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe इध्यच्, मध्यच् ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-1-अन = चयान्, ले-1-अन = लयान् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ"? Observe वायो-1-इति = वायविति, भानो-1-इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो आयाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

डसिङ्सोऽश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ डसिङ्सोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ इति वर्त्तते, अतीति च । एङ उत्तरयोर्दसिङ्सोरिति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकारेशो भवति ॥

110. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word),-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने-1-अस् = अग्नेः, वायोः ॥ The इ and उ of अग्नि and वायु are gunated by VII. 3. 111. This sūtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padānta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरागच्छति, अग्नेः स्वस्, वायोः स्वस् ॥

ऋत उक् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्सोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्दसिङ्सोरिति पूर्वपरयोरुकार एकारेशो भवति ॥

111. In the room of ऋ-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Thus होतु-1-अस् = होतुर् (The उ must always be followed by र् I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces two, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and [mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वस् ॥

ख्यत्यात्परस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख्य - त्यात्, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्सोरिति वर्त्तते उदिति च । ख्यत्यादिति खिशब्दखीशब्दयोस्तिशब्दतशब्दयोश्चकृतयणादेशयोरिदंमहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य डसिङ्सोरित उकारोदेशो भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of

अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase कसिक्कसोः and उत् are understood here also. The क्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to क, and क्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to क ॥ Thus सखि-1-अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus : सख्येन वर्तते = सखः, सखमिच्छति = सख-1-क्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्तिप् to the denominative root सखीय we get सखीः 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी-1-अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्तिप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the इ of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishṭhā, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of क्य and क्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c : where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim महणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखीः 'one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय-1-क्तिप्), and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-1-क्तिप्) : Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

अतो रोःप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, रोः, अप्लुतात्, अप्लुते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उर्ध्वित वर्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रेरेफस्य उकारात्तुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of ह (the र substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word अति of VI. 1. 109, III. Thus वृक्ष-1-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर्-1-अच् = वृक्षउ-1-अच् = वृक्षो-1-अच् (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽच् (VI. 1. 109); so also प्लक्षोऽच् ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य्; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon ह VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निर्-1-अच् = अग्निरच् ॥ Why do say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-1-अच् = वृक्षा अच् ॥ Why do we use ह with its indicative उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वर-1-अच् = स्वरच्, प्रातर्-1-अच् प्रातरच् ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word अति is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The र must be *followed* by a short अ, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्-इह = वृक्ष इह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्-अभिहितः = वृक्ष अभिहितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुस्रोता इ अय स्वमसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पय आग्निवत् (VIII. 2. 86). Here पय being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अप्लुतं been used in the aphorism.

हृदि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदि, च ॥

हृदि: ॥ हृदि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोहकारदेशो भवति ॥

114. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र substitute of लृ VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हृद्य pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus पुरुषो अति or हसति or दसति &c.

प्रकृत्या अन्तःपादमध्यपरे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पादम्, अध्यपरे ॥

हृदि: ॥ एडो ऽतीत्येव । एङ् इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्थानिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा ऽभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाचष्टे । पादशब्देन च ऋक्पादस्यैव महणमिच्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अवकारयकारपरे ऽति परत एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

115. The final ए or ओ and the following अ when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vedic verse, retain their original forms, except when the अ is followed by इ or उ ॥

The word एङ् is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means 'original nature, cause'. The word अन्तर is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedās, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus ते अग्रे अव्ययानुञ्जन्; ते अस्मिन् अव्ययानु; उपमयन्तो अभ्यरन्; शिरो अपदयन्; सुजाते अव्ययानुते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अव्ययो अग्निभिः सुतम् (Rig IX. 51. 1); शुक्रं ते अव्यन् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe कवा मती कुत एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति ॥ Why do we say "when इ or उ does not follow अ?" Observe तेऽयवन् (Rig X. 109. 1), तेऽयस्मयन् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अव्यगिरुपसामयमयन् ॥ Some read this sūtra as नान्तः पादमध्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. 1. 72).

अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरत्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अत्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवद्यात् अवक्रमुः अत्रत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरिण्यति परतोऽन्तः पाठमङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

116. The ए or ओ retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the अ in these has a व् and य् following it) :—

अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अत्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवद्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), ना शि-
वासो अवक्रमुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अत्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof.
Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda:—सीधन्तो अत्रतम्
(VI. 14. 3), संहन्ता अत्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अत्रतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधारी अयं नमिः, ते
नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु
is generally elided in the Veda after ए or ओ) कुशिकासो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एदन्तो यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरो, retains its original form when followed by a short अ which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtra
as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उह ending in उ, which in the Vocative
case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्ज ॥
But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोऽन्तरिक्षन् सज्जः ॥ In the Yajur
Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पाठे does not apply here.

आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके पूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः,
वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येता च यावम्बिकेशब्दात्पूर्वो
यजुषि पठितौ त आति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपो, जुषाणो, वृष्णो, वर्षिष्ठे, and also in and after अम्बे or अम्बाले when they stand before अम्बिके ॥

Thus आपो अस्मान् प्रातरः शुन्ध्यन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj.
V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गमस्ति पृतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi
Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि ॥
(I. 1. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is
अम्बे अम्बिके अम्बालिके) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्बे
अम्बाल्याम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten
their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

अङ्गइत्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तदीक्षौ चाकार यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये इति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अङ्गे is followed by अङ्गे, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ ॥

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अवाभ्यन्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीक्षन्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अशोचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-धपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्ते चाति कवर्गधकारपरं परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudatta अ is followed by a Guttural or a ध, the antecedent ए or ओ retains its form, as well as this subsequent अ ॥

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अन्वरेः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधोऽग्ने, here अग्ने has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमग्निः सहस्रियः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्तइति च शब्देनानुक्रियते । अवपथाः शब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽकारादौ परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

121. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented अ of अवपथास् follows ए or ओ, the vowels retain their original form.

Thus वी रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप in the Atmanepada. Thus अ-व-प-था-सि ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यदुद्रेभ्यो ऽवपथाः ॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, विभाषा, गोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र, छन्दसि भाषायां चाति परतो गारङ् प्रकृत्या भवति विभाषा ॥

122. After गो the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽमं or गो अमं ॥ In the Vedas also अपशवो वा अन्ये गो अभ्येभ्यः, पशवो गोऽभ्यः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अजीत्येतस्वनुवर्त्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावडा-
इत्यो भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्च manifests itself. Thus गो + अय = गवायम्, so also गवाजितम्, गवादनम्, गवाहम्, or in the alternative we have गो-डयम्, गोडजितम्, गोवादनम्, गवुहम् ॥ The substitute अवङ् is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrīhi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अयमस्य = गैवामः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāsānta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyāvasthita vibhāṣā, hence in गवायः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्थे ऽचि परतो गौर्नित्यमवङोवङो भवति ॥

124. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥ So also गवन्द्र यज्ञः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāṣya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश्च प्रगृह्याश्चाचि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

125. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc.) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc.) vowels remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus देवहस्ता ३ अव न्वसि, यज्ञहस्ता ३ इहान् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripādi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyāyī ; and the tripadi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sūtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples : अग्नी इति, वायु इति, खड्गे इति, मलि इति ॥ Though the anuvritti of अचि was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77 : its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining प्रकृतिभावः ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrihya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जानु उ अस्य, हजति here in combining जानु + उ into जानू, the अ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that जानू, which ends in उ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जानु + अस्य = जानु अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्वस्य, not by इकोयणञि, but by मय उभो वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of अच् in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this *peculiar* meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply प्लुतप्रगणाः, it would have been translated ordinacily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु उ अस्य, since उ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the उ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word अच्, and the peculiar explanation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihya vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जानु उ अस्य हजति. the उ + उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the *cause* of lengthening; it causes the change of उ to वृ, which of course is prevented. The word नित्य of the last sūtra is understood here also, These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. I. 127.

आङ्गोऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गोऽञि परतःसाहितायां छन्दसि विषयेऽनुनासिकादेशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

126. For the adverb आ, is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised आँ, when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अभ्र आँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुले into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here : इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरन् = आ अतरन् ॥

इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, असवर्णे, शाकल्यस्य, ह्रस्वः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकोऽसवर्णेऽञि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यकः स्थानि भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सिन्नित्यसमासयोः शाकल्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ ईषाभक्षादिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्रं वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a nonhomogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus इधि अभ्र, मधु अभ्र, कुमारि अभ्र, किशोरि अभ्र ॥ In the alternative we have इधिव्र, मध्व्र, कुमार्य्व्र, किशोर्य्व्र ॥ Why do we say 'the इक्' vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खेदेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart:—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory 'स्' and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa):—Thus अयं ते योनिर्कस्त्रियः, प्रजां विदाम ऋत्विष्याम्. The word ऋत्विष्य is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106), added to ऋतु; and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवर्धः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vart:—In the Vedas ईषा अक्षः &c are found uncombined. As, ईषा अक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशांगिला, यथा अङ्गदः, पथा अगमन् &c.

ऋत्यकः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति, अकः, (प्रकृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वभेदे तदनुवर्त्तते । ऋकोर परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

128. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus खद्वा ऋभ्यः, कुमारि ऋभ्यः, होतृ ऋभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)”? Observe वृक्षावृभ्यः (वृक्षा + ऋभ्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्लुत - वत्, उपस्थिते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्थ इतिकरणः सप्रशयाद्वच्छिद्य परं येन स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो ऽप्लुत-वद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्यं प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला इति = सुमङ्गलेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as”; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta”? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛiti bhāva in the case of pluta and prāgrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be prāgrihya, nor a prāgrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a prāgrihya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायु, the इ and ऊ are prāgrihya. They may be made pluta also a अग्ना इ or वायु इ ॥ Now if before इति, the pluta became a pluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायु इति formed by अग्नी इ + इति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being prāgrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी इ इति, वायु इ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई३ कारः प्लुतो ऽपि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवञ्जवति ॥

130. According to the the opinion of Chākravarmaṇa, the pluta ई३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अस्तु हीत्यब्रवीत् or अस्तु ही३ इत्यब्रवीत् ॥ चितु हीदम् or चितु ही३ इदम् ॥ The name of Chākravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति, it ordains prakṛiti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛiti bhāva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयवविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

Ishti :—This apluta-vad-bhāva applies to pluta vowels other than इ; as वशा इ इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङः पदान्तादतीत्यतः पदमणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति प्रातिपदिकं गृह्यते न धातुः, सानुबन्धकत्वात् ॥

131. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The portion पद of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = युक्तामः, युमान्, विमलसु दिने, युभ्याम्, युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for इ by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षय्याम्, अक्षयूभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊट (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊट substitution the forms will be अक्ष्याम्, अक्षूभिः ॥ The ऊट also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

एतत्तदोः सु लोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतत् - तदोः, सु लोपः, अकोः, अ - नञ् - समासे -, हलि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतत्संज्ञो वाचककारौ नञ्समासे न वर्तते तयोर्थः सुद्यब्बः कश्च तयोः सुद्यब्बो वस्तुस्थेन संबद्धस्त-
स्य संहितायां विषये हलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in com-
position.

Thus एषः + वदति = एष वदति, स वदति, एषमुङ्क्ते, स मुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद्? Observe यो वदति, यो मुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको वदति, सको वदति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतद् and तद् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतित-
स्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'.

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe अनेषो वदति, असो वदति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽत्र, सोऽत्र ॥

स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं सोर्लोपो भवति ॥

133. In the Chhandas, the case-affix of the nomi-
native singular is diversely elided after स्य, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत स्य वाजी क्षिपणिं तुरण्यति घीवायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष आसनि (Rig IV. 40. 4),
एष स्य ते मधुमां इन्द्र सोमः (Rig IX. 87. 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place: as
वयं स्यो निषतेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he'.

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद-
पूरणम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याचि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति चेत्पादः पूर्यते ॥

Kārikā सैष साधारणी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥

सैष कर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

134. The case-affix of सस् 'he', is elided before
a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes
complete.

Thus सेतु राजा जयति वर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरजुष्यते (Rig VIII. 43.
9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इव व्याघ्रो भवेत् ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. Some explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—सैष राजाश्वरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्यागी, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुद् कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोक्तं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् ॥ इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र वृत्तिरिति कात्पूर्वं इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—"before क् is added स्" ॥

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुद् is placed before the letter क्' should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches "After सम्, परि and उप when followed by the verb कृ, the sense being that of adorning". Here the above phrase should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. "the augment स् is added before the क् of कृ when it is preceded by सम्, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning". Thus सम्+स्+कृ+न्=संस्कृता, संस्कृतुम्, संस्कृतव्यम् ॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुद् comes only before those roots which begin with क ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the स् remains unattached to क्, though it stands before it. Thus though कृ becomes स्कृ, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the guṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in कृ and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिङ्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इद् would come in लिङ् and सिञ् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कृदीष्ट and समस्कृत; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्कियते the Passive Imperfect (यकिं लिङि) of संस्कृ ॥ If so, then the anudātta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुद् would intervene between the non-लिङ्-word सै and the लिङन्त word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accept the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुद् does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If स् is not to be taken as attached to क्, how do you explain

the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संचक्रतुः and संचक्रतुः which apparently is done by applying VII. 4. 10. Though that rule strictly applies to roots beginning with a conjunct consonant, it will apply also to roots like संस्कृ which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory इ in सुट् is for the purpose of differentiating it from सु in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अङ्भ्यासव्यवायेषि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग्यवाये ऽभ्यासव्यवाये सुट् क्तापूर्वो भवति ॥

136. The augment सुट् is placed before क even when the augment अट् (VI. 4. 71) or the Reduplicate intervenes (between the preposition and the verb).

Thus समस्करात् (सम् + अकरोत्), समस्कार्षीत्, संचस्कार (= सम् + चकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pāṇini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: अङ् व्यवायउप संख्यानम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥ The augmented root स्कृ would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स् be considered an integral part of कृ, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sūtra? The operation relating to a Dhātu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment सुट् is added, and then the अट् and अभ्यास operations take place. Thus संस्कृ is the form to which अट् and अभ्यास operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that सुट् is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अट् may be added after this सुट्, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संसकरोत् and संसचकार ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after अट् and reduplicate, the सुट् must be placed before क and no where else.

संपर्युषेभ्यः करोती भूषणे ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम् - परि - उपभ्येः, करोती, भूषणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेभ्यो भूषणार्थं करोती परतः सुट् क्तापूर्वो भवति ॥

137. The augment सुट् is placed before क when सम्, परि and उप are followed by the verb कृ and the sense is that of ornamenting.

Thus संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The म् of सम् is changed to anuṣvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुम् परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपस्कर्ता, उपस्कर्तुम् उपस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes सुट् comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संस्कृतमग्नम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च सुट्)

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः समुदायस्तस्मिन्नर्थे करोतीति संपर्युषेभ्यः कात्पूर्वः सुडागमो भवति ॥

138. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after सम्, परि and उप, the sense being that of combining.

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संस्कृतम् तत्र नः परि-
कृतम्, तत्र नः उपस्कृतम् = समुदायितम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्न, वैकृत,
वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सती गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तादवस्थाय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञादिस्वाङ्गं । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणोपादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतीति धातो परत उपात् सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप, and the sense is that of 'to take pains for something, to prepare, and to supply an ellipses in a discourse'.

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix षण् being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञादि class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एषोऽवकाशोऽपस्कृतं (Sge I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योप-
स्कृते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by, preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुङ्क्ते, उपस्कृतं गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पति, उपस्कृतं-
मधीति ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. I. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरती लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरती, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरती धातो लवनविषये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ णुलभक्त्यः ॥

140. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and the sense is that of 'to cut or split',

Thus उपस्कारं मन्त्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काशीरका लुनन्ति - विभिन्ने लुनन्ति ॥

Vart.—The above augment takes place when णवुल् is added to the verb उप-कृ, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of 'to cut', the form is उपकिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । उपात्ततेऽनन्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिंसायां विषये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

141. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and प्रति, and the sense is "to cause suffering".

Thus उपस्काणम् or प्रातस्काणं हन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषलं विक्षपो भूयाद् यथा हिंसामनुबन्धाति ॥

Why do we say when 'the sense is to cause pain'? Observe प्रति-कर्णम् ॥

अपाद्यतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात्, शकुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुट्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनिषु, यशलेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेरात्मनेपदस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

142. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after अप and the sense is 'the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds'.

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः, अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी; अपास्किरत आ आश्रयार्था = भालिख्य विक्षपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपकिरति देववृणाः ॥

Vart.—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place. Therefore not here:—अपकिरति आ भोदनपिण्डमाशितः ॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes Atmanepada affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I. 3. 21. *Vart.*

कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणि, जातिः, (सुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणीति सुट् निर्णायते जातिश्चेद्भवति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुट् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of 'coriander': i. e. धान्यकं; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुटुम्बुरु (कुस्तितानि तुम्बुरुणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति सुद् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā

लुप्तेववश्यम् कृत्ये तु काममनसोरपि ।
समो वा हितततयोर्मांसस्थ पचियुद्धमोः ॥

144. The word 'अपरस्पराः' is formed by the augment सुद् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परं च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding प्यस् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. 1. 123) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम् ? The स् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kārikā:—"The स् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kṛitya affix, the स् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the स् of सम् is elided optionally before इति and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, भोक्तुमनः ॥ (3) समहितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥

गोष्पद् सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः-पदम्, सेवित-असेवित-प्रमाणेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोष्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते तस्य च पदं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

145. The word गोष्पद् is formed by सुद्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदो देशः = गावः पश्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद् by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows'. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रं, गोष्पदपुरं वृष्टो देवः ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land and rain. When it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोष्पद् will give अगोष्पद् by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद् = अगोष्पद् ? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अब्राह्मण means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोष्पद् with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद् ॥

आस्पद् प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आस्पदापनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते ॥

146. 'The word आस्पद is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ 'Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ पदान् = आपदम् ॥

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽङ्कुतत्वात्महलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्यं निपात्यते । चरोराडि चागुराविति यत्प-
त्त्वये कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

147. The word आश्चर्ये is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चय is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर् with the preposition आ, and the augment सुट् ॥ Thus आश्चर्ये यदि स भुञ्जात, आश्चर्ये यदि सो ऽप्रीयीत ॥ When not having this sense, we have आचर्ये कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमग्नमलं, तस्मिन्नाभिधेये ऽवस्कर इति निपात्यते । अवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि ऋदाप् इत्यप् निपातनात्सुट् ॥

148. The word अवस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called वचस्क (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट् ॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम् ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवकरः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेज्जवति । अपपूर्वात्किरतेर्ऋदोरवित्यप्, निपातनात् सुट् ॥

149. The word अपस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from कृ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning, we have अपकरः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेर्ऋपूर्वस्यगुपधज्ञाप्तीकिरः कः इति कप्त्यये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिश्च जवति । विकिरशब्दाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादते ।

150. The word विष्किर is formed with सुट् optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. 1. 135) to कृ with the preposition त्रि and the augment सुद् ॥ The word त्रिकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनित्रिकिर वा is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या त्रिकिराः कुक्कुटादृत ॥ Though the sūtra त्रिकिरोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form त्रिकिर, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that त्रिकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise त्रिकिर would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशब्दोत्तरपदे ह्रस्वात्परः सुडागमो भवति मन्त्रविषये ॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुद् is added to चन्द्र when it is second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus सुचन्द्रो शुभान् ॥ Why, do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याचन्द्रमसाशिव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all, and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

पतिष्कशश्च कशेः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिष्कशः, च, कशेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पञ्चाद्याच कृते सुद् निपात्यते, तस्यैव पत्यम् ॥

Verse माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

152. To the root कश 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुद्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding भञ्च affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशाः=प्रतिकृशोऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here thought कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुद् निपात्यते ऋषी चैवभिधेयौ भवतः ॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुद्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रस्कण्वो वशाः, (कण्वं पापं तत्पगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य) ॥

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिन् इत्येतौ यथासंख्यं वेणौ परिव्राजके च निपात्यन्ते ॥

154. The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोद्गाहः "an alligator", मकरो समुद्र "an ocean". Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच, the long भा being shortened. Thus मा कियत येन प्राताषध्यत = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छाल्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशाला = मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्बः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन् इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यन्ते नगरे ऽभिधेये ॥

155. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कातीरम् (इषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्म् (अजस्येव तुन्मस्य) ॥

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति सुट् निपात्यन्ते वृक्षभेदवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार + कृ + ट (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारस्कर प्रभृतीनि, च, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च शब्दरूपाणि निपात्यन्ते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pāraskara', कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रयस्या 'N. of a river', किष्कुः 'N. of a measure', किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुट् in the compound of तत् + कर, and eliding त् ॥ बृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुट् between बृहन् + पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चोर and देवता are used in the Ganapāṭha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप् तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पति वमस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावो, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥ This is an ākṛitigaṇa. Thus प्रार्थयाम्, प्रार्थयन्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्क्रो वृक्षः, 3 रयस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुद् तलापश्च (तस्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः=देवता), 7 प्रान् तुम्पतो गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया । यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तच्चानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kārikā

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।

पृथक्स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरात्तस्त्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वराच्चनस्त्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

158. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudātta or unaccented. This is a Paribhāṣhā or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udātta) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudātta vowel'. What is the one to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपार्थोति the acute accent is on थ, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by आ accent, thus लुनीति has acute accent on ना ॥ The आ accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीतेः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तराम् ॥

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च, पृथक् स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थं मेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥ The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative element, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. 1. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनङ्गु when a sarvanāmsthāna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनङ्गुहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चेतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनडुङ्, these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत् + उरन् = चेतुर (चतेरुन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); अनडुङ् is thus derived : अनो वहति = अनस् + वह् + क्तिप्, the स् is replaced by ङ्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15 = अनडुङ् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kâraka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of अस्थि, रधि, सविध, and अक्षि, there shall be अनङ् acutely accented when दा follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थीनि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix कथिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. 1. 28, 3), i. e. the acute accent on आ in आय gives way to the root-accent which makes य acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem : as कर्त्तव्यम्, and हर्त्तव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यन् (III 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavâda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गुप् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गु (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय. is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32, which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपाय gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhātu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudātta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परान्तिव्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वैरव्यवस्था सति प्रकृतिशिष्टेन च” ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavâda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिशिष्ट ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kâsikâ: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति “that which

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वरः "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the affix is an apavāda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1, 192) by which the final of a dhātu is acute, and it debars the dhātu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even after the addition of the affix, these words retain the designation of dhātu. Similarly in क्राष्णोत्तरासङ्गपुत्रः, "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarāśaṅga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrīhi-accent (VI. 2. 1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrīhi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrīhi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sārvadhātuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in दुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

Vārt:—The नञ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिष्ठः, here the accent of जसु vibhakti after तिसृ (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ट is debarred by नञ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tat-purusha.

Vārt:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अचत्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चत्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanāma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This औ is udātta (VI. 1. 98). But this udātta is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say 'in the body of a pada'? In a sentence, every word will retain its accent. As देवदत्त! गोमयाज शुक्लैर्म "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद is in fact used in this sūtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sūtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full 'pada' been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कुवल is acutely accented on the first as belonging to ग्रामादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix डीप् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudātta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अञ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्या विकारः = कौवलयम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to ग्रामादि class Phit II. 15), with the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीप् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udātta causes all the rest syllables anudātta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गर्भिणी being anudātta would have taken अञ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्वादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पद, then the word गर्भिणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्पात्वतो घञो ऽन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, अत्वतः, घञः, अन्तः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवतश्च घञन्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

159. A stem formed with the Kṛita-affix घञ् has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कृष् (कर्षति) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्षैः, पार्कैः, व्यागैः, रागैः, शयैः, धायैः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory ञ् have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhvādi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्-कृषति of Tudādigāṇa. The word कर्षैः derived from Tudādi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उच्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छ इत्येवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

160. The words उच्छ &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus 1. उच्छैः, 2. म्लेच्छैः, 3. जञ्जैः, 4. जल्पैः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जपैः, 6. बधः are formed by भष् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्ययैः also here. 7. युगैः is derived from युज् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is योगः ॥ 8. गरीः=(दूष्ये); is formed by भष्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वगः, वदः, वेष्टः (चेष्टः), and बन्धैः, करणे ॥ These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुद्बुधच्छन्दासि, e. g. परिष्टुन्, परिदुन्, संयुन् ॥ 11. वर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word वर्त्तनिः occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्वन्ने वरः, the वरैः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by भष् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापी भावगर्हायाम्, thus साम्बैः, तापैः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमैः, शश्वत्तमैः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्थभोगिमन्थाः (भोगदेहा) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a ण्यन्त root is here घञन्त ॥

1 उञ्छ, 2 स्नेछ, 3 जञ्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गरो वृष्ये, 9 वेद-वेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुयुद्भवच्छन्सि (परिष्ठुन्, संयुन्, परिबुन्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तान्ने 12 श्वे वरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशश्वौ) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्य-, भोगमन्याः (भक्षमन्यभोगवेहाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यत्र, उदात्त-लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्ननुदात्ते परत उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्यानुदात्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

161. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word *udātta* is understood here. Thus कुमार + ई = कुमारी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (*anudātta*) डीप् is added to it, the ई is elided (VI. 1. 148), the *anudātta* ई becomes *udātta*. So also पयिन् + शस् = पयिः (VII. 1. 88), पयिन् + ए = पये, पयिन् + आ = पया ॥ The पयिन् has acute on the last. So also कुपुर् + इमत्तुप् = कुपुर्द्वान् (IV. 2. 87), नृद्वान्, वृत्स्वन् ॥ The words कुपुर् &c, are end-acute, and the affix मन् (वन्) is *anudātta* (III. 1. 4).

Why 'an *anudātta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यन्त = प्रासङ्गयः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहात IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रासङ्ग is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by वञ् with gati) it is followed by यन् which is svarita (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of ई *udātta*: but it does not itself become *udātta*. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. 1. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be *udātta* or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become *anudatta*. Therefore when यन् is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ई) will become *anudātta*. So there is no *lopa* of *udātta* when यन् comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* *anudātta* becomes *udātta*. Had *anudātta* not been used, the sūtra would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तालुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति, for the anuvritti of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and माहि धुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atihanepada, dual. दुह् + कर्त् + आताम् = दुह् + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the *udātta* अ of स ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताम् would be *udātta*, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the ई would have been *udātta* (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम् would have become *anudatta* in माधुक्षाताम् because of तिङ्ङितङ् (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the sūtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent *anudātta* may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous *udātta*; such *udātta* being elided by some other operator, and still such *anudātta* would have become *udātta*. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवो, भृगवः ॥ Here भृगवः is plural of भार्गवः ॥ The word भार्गव is end-acute and this acute (अण्) was elided in the plural, before the affix जस् was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become udātta, which 'would have been the case, had यञ् not been used. प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udātta* is elided"? Observe बिद् + अम् (IV. 1. 104) = बिद् ॥ The feminine of this will be बिद् + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = बिद्वा ॥ Here इ causes the elision of auḍātta अ of इ, and hence remains unchanged. So also ओ वी ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus पैचति, पैठति, ऊर्णोति, गोपार्थति, याति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

163. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicatory च्, gets acute on the end syllable.

Thus भसुरेम्, भासुरेम्, मेदुरेम्. These are formed by घुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्डि is added नान् in the sense of मनुष्य, then is added the feminine affix डीप्, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍini will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यञ् of Gargādi). The plural of Kaunḍinya will be formed by eliding यञ् and substituting क्काण्डनच् for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicatory च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपठुः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68). The accent will not, therefore, fall on हु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अकम्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चैर्कः (V. 3. 71).

तद्धितस्य ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त इत्येव । चितस्तद्धितस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

164. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory च्, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus कौञ्जायनाः formed by the affix च्फम् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज + च् फम् + ञ्य = कौञ्जायन्यः dual कौञ्जायन्या, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (ञ्य being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to च्फम् accent). In this affix there are two indicatory letters च् and म्; the च् has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while म् has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI. 1. 197, and another to cause Vriddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च् or of म् ॥ The present rule declares that it should get

the accent of च and not of ऋ, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if ऋ was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्थेऽथेव । तद्धितस्य कितोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

165. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicatory क, has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus नाडाद्यर्नः formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also चाराद्यर्नः ॥ Similarly भाषिकर्नः, शालाकिकर्नः formed by ढक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः, जसः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उत्तरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

166. The Nominative plural (जस्) of तिसृ has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus तिसृस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तिसृ (feminine of त्रि VII. 2. 99) meaning 'three' is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udātta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस (nom. pl); which would have been Śvarita, but for this rule. If जस be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तिसृभ्यः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस only, why has then it been employed in the sūtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in this sūtra, then in the case of simple तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is 'seconded' member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतिसृस्त्री would have become ~~अतिसृस्त्री~~. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

167. The word चतुर, followed by the accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरः पश्य the accent is on तु ॥ The feminine of चतुर is चतसृ (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vārt), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable. This is so, because चतुर has acute on the first, as formed by उरन् affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vārtika चतस्र्याद्युदात्तनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

present rule does not apply to चतसृ ॥ Another reason for this is as follows: चतसृ + शस् = चतस्र + शस् ॥ Now comes the present Sûtra; here, however, the substitute of कृ being sthānavat, will prevent the udātta formation of the स्र of त; nor will कृ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel कृ but a consonant र् which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुरैः, Pro. Māx Muller चतुरैः ॥ I have followed Prof. Māx Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर ॥

सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिविभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः, विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साविती सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुशब्दस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिविभक्ति-रुदात्ता भवति ॥

168. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सौ (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural. Thus शुचां, शुग्भ्याम्, शुग्भिः, शुग्भ्यः, यातौ, याद्व्याम्, याद्विः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रौज्ञा, रौज्ञे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हैरिणा, गिरिणा, रौजसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वौचौ, वौचः ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विभक्तिः)?" Observe वौक्त्या, वौक्त्या ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to त्वया and त्वयि, as in the plural of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच इति शब्दे, तृतीयादिविभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पशुदृश्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच तस्मात्परातृतीयादिविभक्तिरन्यतरस्यादुदात्ता भवति ॥

169. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिविभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवौचा or परमवौचौ, परमवौचे or शुचैः; परमवौचः or वौचैः ॥ So also परमत्वौचा or त्वौचैः &c. According to VI. i. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final: that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe अर्वाचा, सुर्वाचा, सुर्वचा ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word नित्यसमासे indicated that the compound was 'meant'? Had we not used the word उत्तर-पश्चात्, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाचः will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to इवाक् (शुन ऊक्) 'Ins. श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जे: &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe अग्निर्चिता, सोमसुता ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि udātta.

अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनाम-स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः परा ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmasthâna, get the acute accent when coming after अञ्चि ॥

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च्, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus इन्द्रा वृषीर्चो अस्थभिः (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word वृषीच् had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥ Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanāmasthâna has been used here to include the ending णस् also. As प्रतीर्चो बाहून् प्रतिभङ्ग्येषाम् ॥

ऊङिदम्पदाद्यप्पुमैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, दै, युभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङ् इदम् पदादि अप् पुम् दै दिव् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

171. The same (asarvanāmasthâna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in बाह्, also after इदम्, after पद् &c (upto निश् VI. 1. 63), after अप्, पुम्, दै and दिव् ॥

The ऊङ् is the substitute of the वा of बाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊङ् taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus प्रष्टोहः, प्रष्टोहो, but not in अक्षसुवा (Ins. sing. of अक्षसुः derived by ऊङ् substitution of व् in अक्षदिव् VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याम्, एभिः The anuvritti of "अन्तोदात्तात्" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इदम् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvádesa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudatta, this rule does not apply, as अयो औभ्यां निपुणमधीत ॥ The पञ्चादि words are पञ्, इन् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निपुणमधीत ऊहि, या इ तां प्रावति, अपैः पद्भ्यः, अङ्गैः, अद्भ्यः, पुंसैः, पुम्भ्योम्, पुम्भ्यैः, पुंसो, पुंसै, रात्र्यः पद्भ्य, रात्र्योम्, रात्र्यैः, दिव्यैः, दिव्यो, दिव्यैः ॥ As regards the other cases of दिन् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule, because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाच : is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udatta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudatta, except when these words become monosyllabic :—As मीमांस्यं बद्धो अपि कक्ष आसीनि, मस्स्यं न हीन उद्वेनि श्रियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो दीर्घान्तादसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

172. The asarvanâmasthâna case-endings after अष्टन् 'eight', have acute accent, when it gets the form अष्टा ॥

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट ॥ The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udatta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टाभिः opposed to अष्टेभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अष्टेभ्यः, अष्टासु con. अष्टेसु ॥ The word अष्टेन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घञादि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debars it. The use of दीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अष्टा taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would always end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शतुः, अनुमः, नदी, अजादी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोऽशत्तादिनि वृत्तते । अनुमः यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तन्ताऽन्तोऽशत्तात्परा नदी अजादिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानमुदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बृहन्महतरिपसंख्यानम् ॥

173. After an oxytone Participle in अन् the feminine suffix ई,(nadi) and the case endings beginning with vowels

(with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment, न् (i. e. is not अन्त).

The word अन्तोऽज्ञान् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तुहती, तुहती, लुहती, पुहती, तुहती, लुहती, पुहती, सुहती from तुहन्, तुहन् लुहन् and पुहन् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment न्?" Observe तुहन्ती, तुहन्ती ॥ Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुह् which has an indicative अ, in the Dhātupāṭha, being written तुह, the sārva-dhātuka affix णत् (अन्) is anudatta. This anudatta अन्, coalescing with the udatta अ of तुह (VI. 1. 162), becomes udatta (VIII. 2. 5); and Rule VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix. Why do we say "a नदी (feminine in ई) word and before vowel-endings?" Observe तुहन्त्याम्, तुहन्त्याम् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As हृहती, हृहती ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

Vart:—The words बृहती and महती should also be included: as बृहती महती, बृहती, महती ॥

उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त, यणः, हल्, पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थाने यो यण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजादिभ्यां ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ नकारग्रहणं च कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

174. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus कर्त् + ई = कर्त्री; कर्त्रा, कर्त्रा, कर्त्रा, प्रलुक्कर्त्री, प्रलुक्कर्त्रा ॥ प्रलुक्कर्त्री, प्रलुक्कर्त्रा ॥ All these are नृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why 'actually accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कर्त्री, कर्त्रा, कर्त्रा, कर्त्रा, formed by नृच् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुलितृच्—बहुलितृच् प्राङ्गणया (VIII. 2. 4) बहुनि तितकनि अस्या इति बहुलितृच् ॥ This compound with बहु gets udatta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुलितृच्, the र् is replaced by वृ, but as this वृ is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart:—The rule applies when the stem ends in नृ though not in a semi-vowel, as वाक्पत्नी, चित्पत्नी ॥

नोङ् धात्वोः ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊङ्, धात्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा उजाद्यसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोङात्ता भवति ॥

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix ऊ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udatta ऊ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udatta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-

endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus **ब्रह्मबन्धा**, **ब्रह्मबन्धे**, **धीरबन्धा**, **धीर बन्धे** from **धीरबन्ध्**, which has acute accent on **ऊ**, because **ऊम्** is udātta (III. 1. 3), and the **ekadeśa** of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udātta (VIII. 2. 5). The **व** substituted for **ऊ** before the ending **भा**, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udātta, (**उदात्तयण्**) the affix after it would have become udātta by the last sūtra; but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (**धातु-यण्**):—**सकृन्धा**, **सकृन्धे**; **खल्वे** from **सकृन्ध्**, **खल्वू** formed by **क्विप्** affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83 before the vowel case-endings.

ह्रस्वनुङ्भ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, नुडभ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोदात्तानुदत्तपरोमतुङ् उदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ देशकशास्त्रे मतुप् उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अक्षप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented **मत्** (**वृत्**) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment **नृ** (VIII. 2. 16).

The word **अन्तोदात्तात्** is understood here also. Thus **अग्निर्मान्**, **वायुर्मान्**, **कर्तृर्मान्**, **हर्तृर्मान्** ॥ So also when **मत्** takes **नुद्**, as **अक्षन्वेता**, **शीर्षन्वेता** ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word **अक्षि** takes **अनङ्** and becomes **अक्षन्**, then is added **नुद्** by VIII. 2. 16, and we have **अक्षन् नृ मतुप्** ॥ The preceding **नृ** is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodātta) this rule does not apply : as **वैद्यमान्** ॥ The word **वैद्यु** has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from **वद्** with the affix **उ** (Uṇ I. 10) which is **नित्** (Uṇ I. 9) so the **मत्** retains its anudātta here. So also in the case of **महत्त्वान्**, the affix does not become acute, though the word **महन्** has acute on the final as the intervening **त्** makes the **उ** of **रु** heavy when the affix is added: the general maxim **स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत्** does not apply here, because the very fact that **नृ** is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vart :—The affix **मत्** becomes acute after the heavy vowel of **रे** : as **आरेर्मान्** = **रयिरस्यस्ति** ॥ There is vocalisation of **य** of **रयि**, as **र इ इ** then substitution of one, as **र इ**, then **guṇa**, **रे** ॥

Vart :—The prohibition should be stated after **त्रि** : as **त्रिवर्तीयाद्यानु-वाक्या भवन्ति** ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वग्रहणमनुवर्त्तते मतुग्रहणं च । तेन मतुपा ह्रस्वो विद्येयते । मतुपि धो ह्रस्वस्तदन्तादन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यां नाम् उदात्ता भवति ॥

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending **नाम्** has optionally the acute accent.

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्तृनाम् or कर्तृनाम् (see VII. 1. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the 'anuvritti of इस्व 'short or light vowel' be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम् acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the तुद् augment (VII. 1. 54) and not आम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वाम् शक्याम् which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Uṇ III. 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe वैपुणाम्, वैसूनाम् the words वपु and वसु have acute on the first syllable.

इयाश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयन्ताच्छन्दासि विषये नायुसात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

178. In the Ohhandas, the ending नाम् has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus देवसेमानाम् अभिभञ्जनीनाम्, बह्वीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as नदीनाम् पतिः ; जयन्तीनाम् मरुतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोऽन्तादित्येतन्निवृत्तम् । षट्संज्ञकेभ्यस्त्रि चतुर इत्येताभ्यां च परा हलादिर्विभक्तिरुत्ता भवति ॥

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24), as well as after त्रि and चतुर् ॥

The anuvritti of अन्तोऽन्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचन् and नैवन् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus षण्णाम्, षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः, पञ्चासाम्, पञ्चसु, त्रिभिः, त्रिभ्यः, चतुर्णाम्, चतुर्षु (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe षतस्रः पदम् (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

शल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या शलादिर्विभक्तिस्तस्मै पदे यदुपोत्तममुत्ता भवति । त्रिषुषतीनामन्यमुत्तमं तत्समीपे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a म् or स्, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals **द्व**, **त्रि** and **चतुर** when ending in a case-affix beginning with a **ह** consonant, form a full word (**पद**), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the **पद** must be of three syllables at least. Thus **पंचभिः**, **सप्तभिः**, **तिस्रभिः**, **चतुर्भिः** ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with **भ्** and **स्**'? Observe, **पञ्चानाम्**, **सप्तानाम्** ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe **द्वभिः**, **द्वभ्यः** ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वत्रिचतुर्भ्यो या हलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्तं पदे उपान्तमधुनाचं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The **हलादि** case-affixes coming after the above numerals **द्व**, **त्रि** and **चतुर** may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus **पंचभिः** or **पंचभिः** ॥ In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also **सप्तभिः** or **सप्तभिः**, **तिस्रभिः** or **तिस्रभिः** ॥

न गोश्वन्त्साववर्णराडङ्कुड्कृदभ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न गो, श्वन्, सौ अवर्ण, राड्, अङ्, कुड्, कृदभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो श्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यद्वर्णान्तं राड् अङ् कुड् कृद् इत्येतेभ्यो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after **गो**, and **श्वन्** and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has **अ** or **आ**, nor after **रज्**, or after a stem ending in **अञ्च्**, nor as well as after **कुञ्च्** and **कृत्** ॥

Thus **गौवा**, **गवे**, **गोभ्याम्** ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also **सुगौवा**, **सुगवे** and **सुगोभ्याम्** ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also **शूना**, **शूने**, **श्वेभ्याम्**, **परमशूना**, **परमशूने** and **परमश्वेभ्याम्** ॥ The word **साववर्णः** (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has **अ** or **आ** before **सु** (1st. sing.)' Thus **यैभ्यः**, **तैभ्यः**, **कैभ्यः** ॥ **राजः** -- **राजा**, **राजे**, **परमराजा** ॥ (The word **राज** is formed by **क्रि** affix): **अङ्** = **अञ्च्** + **क्रिन्**; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus **प्राञ्चा**, **प्राङ्भ्याम्** ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as **प्राचा**, **प्राचं** **प्राग्भ्याम्** ॥ **कृड्** is also a **क्रिन्** formed word. Thus **कृञ्चा**, **कृञ्चे**, **परमकृञ्चा** ॥ **कृन्** is derived from **कृ** 'to do' or from **कृन्** 'to cut' by **क्रिप्**; as **कृता** **कृते** and **परमकृता** ॥ Why has the word **श्वन्** been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form **श्वा** and consequently it is **साववर्णः**? The inclusion of **श्वन्** indicates that the elision of **न** should not be considered asidhha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like **नृ** and **पितृ** which in Nom. Sing. end in **आ**, as **ना** and **पिता** after the elision of **नृ** of **अनङ्** (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of **नृ** will

be नार by VI. 1. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मतुप् will get udātta after पितृ by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमौत् ॥ But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a सावर्ण्य ॥

दिवो झल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, झल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा झलादिर्विभक्त्यनोदात्ता भवति ॥

183. After दिव् a case-ending beginning with भ or स is unaccented.

Thus वृथ्याम्, वृथिः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवो, दिवे ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्मात्परा झलादिर्विभक्त्यन्यतरस्यां नोदात्ता भवति ॥

184. After नृ, a case ending beginning with भ or स is optionally unaccented.

Thus नृभिः or नृभिः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्याम्, नृभ्योम्, नृभु, नृभु ॥ But not so नृभि, नृभे ॥

तित्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्, स्वरितम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्स्वरितं भवति ॥

185. An affix having an indicatory त्, is svarita i. e. has circumflex accent.

Thus चिक्रीर्ष्यम्, जिह्रीर्ष्यम्, formed by यत् (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with प्यत् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes ādyudātta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेर्लुङिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥

तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, लुङ्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-लुङ्, इङो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तास्येऽनुदात्तेऽतोऽङितो ऽकारान्तोपदेशाच्च लुङ्सात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः भवति लुङ् इङ् इत्यन्ताभ्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are sārvaadhātuka (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhātupāṭha has an unaccented vowel or a ङ् (with the exception of हुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारो, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudāttat :—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ ङिन् :—पृङ्—पृङ्ते, शीङ्—शीङ्ते ॥ अन् उपदेशः :—as तुवन्तः, नृवन्तः, पचन्तः, पठन्तः ॥ A root taking शाप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters ण and ए are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) ॥ Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥ The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (aṅga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (aṅga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अदुपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim यदागमास्तदुणीभूतास्तद्वहणेन गृह्यन्ते "That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment". Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अदुपदेश ॥ But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्वाधातुक does not follow an अदुपदेश, because न intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक् (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शानच् has an indicatory च्, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe चिनुतेः चिन्वर्तिः ॥ The vikaraṇa ऋ is डित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though ऋ is considered as डित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word डित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to डिदुपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक डित् like इतु ॥

Why do we use the word upadeśa? So that the rule may apply to पचामः, यचामः, but not to हतः, हयः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadeśa. though before तच् and यच् it has assumed the form ह ॥ Therefore हतैः हयैः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कर्ताह पचमाना formed by शानच् added to पू (III. 2. 128), which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like शानच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka? Observe शिद्ये, शिद्यन्ते, शि-दिष्ये ॥ Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ्? Observe हनुते, यद्व-अधीते ॥

आदिः सिचो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्,

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्त्तते । सिञ्जन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिर्लुप्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिच आद्युदात्तत्वे ऽनितः पितः पक्षे उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

187. In सिच् Aorist, the first syllable may optionally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कर्द्दाम्, मा हि कर्द्दाम्; मा हि लाविदाम् or मा हि लाविदाम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on पि; and the

reason why मां and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicatory च् of सिच् shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment इद्, when it takes this augment. The सिच् being a वलाहि affix will take the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the वि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicatory च् of सिच्, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus वि gets acute.

Vart.—An affix having an indicatory प् (पित्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इद् (अनिद् सिच्) is in one alternative udātta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vārtika restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhātu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anudātta. Thus माहि कार्षम् or मा हि कार्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इद् augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लाविषम् as a तिङन्त, (2nd.) मा हि लाविषम् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163). but never मा हि लाविषम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिहिसामच्यनिटि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिसाम्, अचि, अनिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वाधातुकग्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदच्यनिटीति सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिसेश्वाजा-
शाननिटि लसार्वाधातुके परतो अन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sârvadhâtuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment इद्, follows after स्वप् &c, or after हिस् ॥

The phrase लसार्वाधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वपन्ति or स्वपन्ति, श्वसन्ति or श्वसन्ति, हिंसन्ति or हिंसन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वप्यान्, हिंस्यान् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इद्'? Observe स्वपित् and श्वसित् ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are डित् ; it does not apply to स्वपादि, हिंसानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजाशाननिटि लसार्वाधातुके परतो अर्धदशान्तो भवति ॥

189. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not इद्) and being a sârvadhâtuka personal ending.

Thus वैसति, वैदु, वैधति, वैधु, जैसति, जैसु, जौसति, जौसु ॥ Before consonant affixes: वय्यान् ॥ Before सेद् affixes:—जक्षित् ॥ Though, the word आदि was

understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing.

अनुदात्ते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्वधातुके परतोऽभ्यस्तानामदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

190. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings तिप् सिप् and निप् are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईषति, जैषति, ईधाति, जिहति, निषीते ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrihi i. e. an affix in which there is no udatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि स्म ईधान्, and ईधात्यत्र ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुपि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्यरोऽनकचकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. The acute is on the first syllable of सर्व when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वः, सवाः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the case-endings follow? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on व ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Upâdi list by निपानन् ॥ It thus being anudattâdi takes the affix अञ् and forms सार्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vat :—The rule does not apply when the affix अकच् is put in : as सर्वकः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीहीभृहुमदजनधनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम्, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु मद् जन धन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वशुक्तं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sâr-vadhâtuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभेति, जिहति, बिभेति, जुहोति, ममेत् नः परिज्या ॥ Here the root मृ has diversely taken in the Chhândas the vikaraṇa भृ, though it belongs to Divâdi class. जर्जनन्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लोट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example, इधनन् from धन धान्ये,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अद् being added by III. 4. 94 वर्धनन्, वरिद्धाति, जायति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have वैशति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory ए (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as वरिद्धति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicatory ल् ॥

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः with the affix ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133), भैरिक्विधम् and ऐपुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिह्रस्वो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लोढ्यम् or लोढ्यम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लोढ्, the second part ङ् is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, ङ् will get the accent by लिन् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutives, namely to reduplicated Absolutives (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेश इति वर्त्तते । भजन्ता ये उपदेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामादिह्रस्वो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātu-pāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ स्तीर्यते or स्तीर्यते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātupāṭha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते, स्वयमेव; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिर्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)'? Observe लूयते केशरो वेवञ्चन ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इड वा उदात्तो भवति भन्तो वा भाविर्वा ऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending **थ** of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment **इ**; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this **इ**, or on the personal ending.

Thus **लुल्विथ**, **लुल्विथ**, **लुल्विथ**, and **लुल्विथ**. As **थल्** has an indicative **ल्**, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with **इथ** termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the **थ** is not **सेद्**, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by **लिट्** accent (VI. 1. 193):—**ययौथ** ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिति नाते च नित्यमादिहस्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicative **ञ्** or **ण्**, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus **गौर्ग्य** with **यञ्** (IV. 1. 105), **वासुदेवकः**, **अर्जुनकः** with **वुञ्** (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e. the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62. Therefore **गर्गाः**, **बिर्वाः**, **चञ्वाः** having lost **प्रम्**, **भञ्** and **कञ्**, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिहस्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent.

Thus **देवदत्त !**, **देवदत्तो !**, **देवदत्ताः ॥** This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a **लुमान्** word (**लुक्**, **लुप्** or **ल्लु**), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As **सैर्परा-गच्छ !** **सैसा गच्छत ! ॥**

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दावौणादिकाविनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययस्वरणान्तोऽशन्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत भादिहस्तो भवति ।

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of **पथिन्** and **मथिन्** when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words **पथिन्** and **मथिन्** are derived by the Unâdi affix **इनि**, (IV. 12. and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 30. They become âdyudâtta before strong cases. Thus **पन्थाः**, **पन्थानो**, **पन्थानः**, **मन्थाः**, **मन्थानो**, **मन्थानः ॥** Before other cases we have:—**पथेः पथ्य**, **मथेः पथ्य ॥** The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udâtta **इन् ॥** The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As **पथिप्रियः**, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्चशब्दादिश्च युगपदुदात्तो भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कर्तवै, हर्तवै ॥ This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्दो निवासे अभिधेये आद्युदात्तो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षये जागृहि प्रपश्यन् ॥ The word is formed by च affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have : क्षयो वर्तते इत्युनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory'.

Thus जैयोऽश्वः, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by च affix, (III. 1. 118) the second by अच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्यवमादीनामादिशब्दो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जैतुः, 3. उर्वरः, 4. घृहः, 5. ह्यैः, 6. जैयः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The word गय is from गे-गायते, irregularly it is created as गे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. अयः, 12. वेदः, 13. सूतः, 14. वदः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāśika). सूत is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुहा (formed by अच् III. 3. 104). 17. शमरणो संज्ञार्थो संमनौ भावकर्मणोः — शमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. शान्तः formed by क्लिच्, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. वारः, 23. धारः, 24. कारः, (all three formed by अच् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by घञ्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. ववः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 उवर, 4 ग्रहः, 5 हयः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः. 10 चयः*, 11 भ्रमः*, 12 वेदः, 13 मूदः, 14 अंशः, 15 युहा, 16 शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकमणौ, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पारः, 27 पयः, 28 ववः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्चा, वैघ्निका, खैरकुटी, हौसी ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अग्निर्माणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देवदत्तैः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्व्यच्, अनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्व्यच् संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तं भवति चेश्वराकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त (Nishṭhâ), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus शुभः, दुष्टः, वैत्तः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवैः, भीमैः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितैः, रक्षितः ॥ In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, ज्ञातैः, आर्तैः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कृतम्, हतम् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दोदात्त इति वृत्तिः । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतादौ आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

206: 'Also शुष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्ता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

207. The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अश् followed by आ, to form both Active and Passive Participles: which by VI. 2. 144 would have taken acute on the final. This debarbs that. In the Passive Participle we have आशितम् देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta'. आशितं नैवम् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्तेः ॥ This debarbs VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्टा, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टैः ; अर्पितः or अर्पितैः ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words जुष्ट and अर्पित have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टं देवानामर्पितं पितॄणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित ; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra : so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even : e. g. तस्मिन्साकं विशना न शंक्योर्पितौ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्दसि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद-अस्मदोः, डसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मधिकृत्ययान्ते उन्तादात्ते लघोर्दसि परतो आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and त्व, and not मे and ते ॥ Thus मम स्वम्, त्व स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष् and अस by adding the affix मङिक् (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + डस् = युष्मद् + अश् (VII. 1. 27) = त्व अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = त्वै + अश् (VII. 2. 90) = त्व (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udātta, the present sūtra makes त्व udātta. So also with मम ॥

डयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ डयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिरुदात्ता इति च ॥ इत्येतस्मिन्श्च परतो, युष्मदस्मदोरादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Dative Singular.

Thus **युष्मद्** and **मैत्र्यम्**, the forms **त** and **मे** are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of **यथासंख्य** rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been **युष्मद्स्मदो ङिङसोः**, then **yushmad** in the Dative, and **asmad** in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

**वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च द्व्यजनादित्यतो द्व्यज्महणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यच् आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चैत्रो-
द्वात्परो भवति ।**

213. Whatever is formed by the affix **यत्**, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of **नान्यः** from **नौ** ॥

The word **द्व्यच्** is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus **चैयम्**, **जैयम्** (III. 1. 97); **कैष्यम्**, **जौष्यम्** (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by **तित्** (VI. 1. 185) ॥ But **नौ - नान्यम्** ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—**चिकीर्ष्यम्**, **ललाब्धम्** ॥

ईडवन्द्वृशंसदुहां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, चन्द, वृ, शंस, दुहाम्, ण्यतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन्द वृ शंस दुह इत्येतेषां या ण्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of **ईड**, **चन्द**, **वृ**, **शंस** and **दुह**, when they are followed by the affix **ण्यत्** ॥

Thus **ईड्यम्**, **वैय्यम्**, **वैर्यम्**, **शैस्यम्**, **दौद्या धेतुः** ॥ The two letters **ण** and **त्** being indicatory, the 'nyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by **त्** ॥ The accent of **त्** however is debarred by this rule. The **वृ** in the sūtra is **वृद्ध** सम्भक्तौ of Kriyadi class: the **वृम्** of स्वादि class takes **kyap** affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतयोर्विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of **वेणु** and **इन्धान** ॥

Thus **वेणुः** or **वेणुः**; **इन्धानः** or **इन्धानः** or **इन्धानः** ॥ The word **वेणु** is derived by the Uṇādi affix **णु** (III. 38), which being a **निन्** would *always* have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word **इन्धान**, if it is formed by **चानश्** it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by **ज्ञानच्**, the affix being a sārvaadhātuka is anudātta, and as it replaces udātta final of the root, it becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161), and thus **इन्धान** gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When **वेणु** is used as an upamāna **वेणुरिव वेणुः**, then it is *invariably* acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा आदिस्वाची भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागः or त्यागैः, रागः, रागैः, हासः, हासैः ॥ These are formed by वृश् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहैः, श्वठः or श्वठैः, क्रथः or क्रथैः formed by अश् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिन्तस्थोपोत्तममुवाचं भवति । विप्रभृतीनामन्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicative र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus करणीयम् and हरणीयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. 1. 96); पटुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङ्चन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्ते अन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुवाचं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चङ्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीकरीताम् or चीकरीताम् ॥ The augment अद् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अद् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि इधन् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संज्ञाया-
म, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्व आकार उदात्तो भवति तथेन्मस्वन्तं स्त्रीलिङ्ग संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मन् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्बरीवती, पुष्करिवती, वीरिवती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीरिवती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुमती, वृमवती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and वृम (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मनुष्य by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खड्गावती ॥ खड्गा is formed by कृन् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe **वरावन्** ॥ Why do we say when followed by **वत्**? Observe **गवादिनी** ॥

अन्तो ऽवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामित्येव । अवतीशब्दान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तो भवति ।

220. The Names ending in **अवती** have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus **अजिर्वती**, **खरिवती**, **इसवती**, **कारणवती** ॥ These words being formed by **ङीप्** would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use **अवती** and not **वती**? Then the rule would apply to **राजवती** also, for this word is really **राजन्वती** ending in **अन्वती**, the subsequent elision of **व्** is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of **म** into **व** (**मव् = वव्**) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति स्त्रियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

221. The Names ending in **ईवती** have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **अशीवती**, **कशीवती**, **धुनीवती** ॥

चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादित्यञ्चतिलुप्तनकारो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्पक्षे पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चावतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in **अञ्च्**, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only **ञ्च्** of **अञ्च्** remains.

Thus **ईधाञ्चः पश्य**; **ईधाञ्चा**, **ईधाञ्चे**; **मधूञ्चः पश्य**, **मधूञ्चा**, **मधूञ्चे** ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vart.—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As **राधीर्चः**, **माधूर्चः** ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्थान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **राजपुरुषैः**, **ब्राह्मणकुम्भैः**, **कन्याखर्जैः**, **फल्गुशर्जैः**, **नदीधौर्जैः**, **राजहर्षैः**, **ब्राह्मणसर्मिन्** ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udatta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER • SECOND.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदग्रहणमत्र पूर्वपदस्ये स्वर उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुशासत्स्वमापद्यते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrîhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपदम् means here the accent—whether udâta or svarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudâta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudâta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrîhi would have lost its accent and become anudâta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udâta. Thus कर्णोत्तरासङ्गाः ॥ The word कर्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix अञ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the ङित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also रूपवल्गवः; the word रूप is derived from रु by the Unâdi affix ण् (Un III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Un III. 25) and the affix is treated as ङित् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारिपरिस्कन्धः; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुत्रः, the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has ङित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udâta on the first syllable. So also अर्ध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अर्ध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a लिट् affix (III. 1. 133, VI. 1. 193). श्लोचियपुत्रः, the श्लोचिय being enounced with an indicatory न् in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by न् (IV. 1. 161) a लिट् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words udātta and svarita are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pūrvapada are anudātta, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get udātta on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. I. 223. Thus समभागः, here सम being *all* anudātta, the accent falls on ग ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थं तृतीयान्तं सप्तम्यन्तदुपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयान्तं कृत्यान्तं च यत्पूर्वपदं तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a Tatpuruṣa, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning “a resemblance”, or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यलोहितः, तुल्यमहान्, सदैरुच्छ्रितः, सदैरलोहितः, सदैरमहान् ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds formed under II. I. 68 : and तुल्य being formed by यत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 216). The word सदैश्च is formed by क्तिन् (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. I. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदैश्वेतः, सदैशलोहितः, सदैशमहान् ॥ The word सदैश्च is formed by कम् added to दैश्च, and by VI. I. 197 the accent falls on दै (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शकुलया खण्डः = शकुली-खण्डः, so also किरिकाणः (II. I. 30) शकुला is derived from शकु + ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of यञ्, and thus the noun ला is udātta ; or the whole word शकुला is a word formed by क affix and hence VI. I. 165 applies and is final-acute. किरिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix इ to कृ (Uṇ IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्तिन् (Uṇ IV. 142) has udātta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—भक्षेण शोण्डः = भक्षेणशोण्डः, so also पानशोण्डः ॥ The word भक्ष is formed by the affix स added to भक्ष् (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. I. 3). The word पान is formed by ल्यप् affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. I. 193) owing to the लिट् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—बाह्वीश्वाना, कुमुदयेनी, हर्षगद्गहा, न्यमोर्धपरिमण्डला, पूर्वाक्राण्डश्वाना, गदक्राण्डश्वौ ॥ These compounds are formed by II. I. 55. बाह्वी is formed by झप् and is final-acute ; कुमुद is formed by क affix (कौ मोदते = कुमुद) see III. 2. 5. Vārt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sūtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. हर्ष is formed by the Uṇādi affix स added to हृ

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्ययोहति = न्ययोधः formed by अच् (III. 1: 134), and ह is irregularly changed into ध as Pāṇini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words दूर्वाकाण्ड, शरकाण्ड are Genitive Tatpurusha, and their second member has accent on the first syllable (VI. 2. 135). (5) When the first member is an Indeclinable, as, वैवाङ्मनः, वैवृषलः, कुम्भाङ्मनः, कुम्बृषलः ॥ निष्कौशाब्धिः, निर्वाराणसिः, अतिखट्वः, अतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udātta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vart:—In cases of Indeclinable compounds the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृत्-accent as अकारणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyahsakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as:—मुहूर्तमुत्थम्, मुहूर्तमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रिकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रिशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त belongs to षोडशवि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्रि is formed by the samāsanta affix अच् and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योष्णम्, पानीयशीतम्, हरणीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by ण्यत् and has svarita on the final: पानीय and हरणाय are formed by णनीयर् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on ण् ॥

वर्णोवर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपरं, तत्पुरुषइति च वर्तते ॥ वर्णं वर्णवाच्यं पूर्वपरं वर्णवाचिष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतद्वर्णवाचि-
तेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समसो प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णकल्माषः, लोहितकल्माषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by नक् affix (Uṇ III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तद् added to रङ् (Uṇ III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word'? Observe परमकृष्णः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word'? Observe कृष्णतिलैः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत'? Observe कृष्णैः, लोहितैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समसो गाध लवण इत्येतयोर्नोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाय or लवण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus सैम्बगाधयुक्कम्, अरिर्भगाधयुक्कम् 'water' as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. नीलवणम्, ईम्बलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. सैम्ब is formed by adding वन् to साम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरिश्च is formed by the affix इच् added to अरि (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): नी is formed by डी (Uṇ. II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; ईम्ब is formed by इवन् affix added to ईम् (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगार्धम् and परमलवणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे दायादश्चत्तरपदे दायाद्यत्रापि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्त्वं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दायाद् as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायादः, धनदायादः ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udātta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धाम् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुल (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायादः &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायादः requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vārtikā प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a शेषिक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद Genitive. If it is a शेषलक्षण Genitive case, then why the other Genitive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायाद &c. That sūtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the alternative, and does not prevent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that sūtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sūtra indicates the alternative nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an apûrva-vidhi, the words naturally would have taken Genitive; the taking of the Locative is the only new thing taught there.

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमशब्दार्थः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रतिबन्धिवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, having the words चिर or कृच्छ्र as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, गमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणचिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyâṁsakâdi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When going to a place is delayed owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes difficult, there is produced an obstacle or hinderance, and is called गमनचिरं or गमनकृच्छ्रं ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe मुचकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदेऽपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तथाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpuruṣa compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word पद denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः, उद्यारपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix इन् to the root मुञ्, the ऊ being substituted for उच् of मुञ्, (Uṇ. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूत्रयति ॥ The word उद्यार is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word निवात in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुञ्चोऽन्निवातं = कुञ्डीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शमीनिवातम्, कुड्यनिवातम् or कुड्यनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bhāva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवासश्च &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शमी are formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड्य is derived from कु by adding बन् with the augment डक् and treating it as कित्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix ड्यक् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिवासे वसति, सुखे मातृनिवासे = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवास = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदेऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतौ भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दोत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद, having any other sense than that of 'autumnal'.

The word आर्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रज्जुशारदमुद्रकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also हर्षत् शारदाः सक्तवः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रज्जु is formed by ड affix added to सृज् (Uṇ. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix ड is treated as निन् (Uṇ. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word हर्षत् is formed by the augment ष and shortening of the vowel of the root ह 'to tear' (हृणाति), and the affix अदिक् (Uṇ. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3):

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe परमशारदम्, उत्तमशारदम् 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्वर्युकषाययोजातौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युः, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जातिवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्राध्वर्युः, कर्षध्वर्युः, कालप्राध्वर्युः ॥ These are 'Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राध्व is formed by यत्, and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 213). कर्ष is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कटेन प्रोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vārtika which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 vart). Thus कालाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिर्मण्डकपायम्, उमापुष्पकपायम्, सौवार्तिकपायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिर्मण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word सौवार्तिक is formed by ङ्क् affix added to हार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाध्युः, परमकण्ठायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or 'something', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is

सदृश or प्रतिरूप ॥

Thus पितृसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by Unādi affix कृच् (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सदृश forms Instrumental Tatpurusha. That case, however, is governed by VI. 2. 2, which provides for Instrumental compounds. The examples here given are of Genitive Tatpurusha: and it applies to cases where the case-ending is not elided. As दास्याः सदृशो, वृषल्याः सदृशः ॥ Here दासी and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also पितृप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus प्राच्यसप्तसमः and गान्धारिसप्तसमः ॥ The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाण-मस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्राच्यश्चासौ सप्तसमश्च = प्राच्यसप्तसमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारि-सप्तसमः or षट्समः ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe ब्रीहिसप्तसमः ॥ Why do we say, 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिज्यव्यवहारपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः, काश्मीरवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्रादिषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काश्मीर belongs to Kṛshodarâdi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamâdi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10) In the sense of पण्य we have: गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अश्ववाणिजः &c. गो is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अश्व has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृन् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजैः, उत्तमवाणिजैः ॥

मात्रोपश्लोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषूत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न ददाति आश्रितः, समुद्रमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किञ्चन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word समुद्र has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sôtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्यौडुपज्ञं दुष्करणम् अपिशल्युपज्ञं सुस्लाघव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by अण् affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिनै), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याडि being formed by इञ् affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आर्द्धोपक्रमं प्रासादः, दर्शनोपक्रमम्, सुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दा पक्रमणि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आर्द्धं (तत्रैवेन ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + ध्य + क affix added with the force of घञ्, the ध being changed to ढ the word belonging to वृषोदरादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word दर्शनीय is formed by धनीय् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicator य (VI. 1. 217). The word सुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अञ् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इषुच्छाया,

द्विषुञ्चावम् ॥ The word द्विषु is derived from द्विष् by ङ affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as निङ् (Un I. 9) the acute falls on द्वि the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word चनुस् has also acute on the first by Phit sūtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—द्विषुणां छायाः; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुड्यछाया (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is सुख or प्रिय, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good'.

Thus गैमनसुखम् 'the pleasure of going'. So also वैचनसुखम्, व्याहरणसुखम्, गैमनप्रियम्, वैचनप्रियम्, व्याहरणप्रियम् ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). The words sukha and priya have the sense of हित or 'well good 'beneficial', i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have परमसुख्यम्, परमप्रियम् ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रीतौ गन्धमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being सुख or प्रिय, in the sense of "agreeable to one, or desired".

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmanas", छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥ &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छात्र have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ण (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and कन्या has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुख्यम्, राजप्रियम् ॥

स्वं स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिनि शब्दोत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word स्वामिन् as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus गौस्वामी, अश्वस्वामी, धनस्वामी ॥ The accents of गौ, अश्व and धन have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परमस्वामी ॥

पत्यावैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दोत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or 'lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहपतिः, सेनापतिः, नरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by कृ (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix अण् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sûdrâ".

न भू वाक्चिदिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐद्वयवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषु इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृतिस्वराणि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषु, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐद्वयवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by ब्युन् (Un. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sûtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains ब्युन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवभूतारादित्यः ॥

आशङ्कान्नाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्सु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं तत्पुरुषइति वर्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वैचननाशङ्कं, व्याहरणाशङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनबाधम्, व्याहरणाबाधम् ॥ Similarly गमननेदीयो वर्तते, वैचननेदीयः व्याहरणनेदीयः = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेदीयः ॥ All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have लिट् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दोत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्व is the second member, and the sense is "this had been lately——".

Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः = आढ्यपूर्वः "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyāṁsakādi class. So also दर्शनीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमश्चासौ पूर्वश्चेति ॥ If it is analysed as परमो भूतपूर्वः then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second member is सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus मद्रसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also मद्रसनीडम्, मद्रसमर्यादम्, मद्रसवेशम् and मद्रसदेशम्. So also with गान्धारि and काश्मीर ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्रसविधं = मद्राणां सामीप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते = समर्यादौ क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं = देवदत्तसमर्यादम् "the bounded field of D". Why do we say सविध &c? Observe देवदत्तसमर्यादम् ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वराणि भवन्ति ॥

24. The words विस्पष्ट &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound;

Thus विस्पष्ट कटुकम्, विविचित्रकटुकम् व्यक्तकटुकम्, विस्पष्टलवणम्, विविचित्रलवणम्, व्यक्तलवणम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्पष्टं कटुकम् &c.

The words विस्पष्ट &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कटु &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhāraya.

The word विस्पष्ट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विविचित्र is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विविचिः, which being a Bahuvrīhi has also first acute. The word व्यक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are संपन्नं, पैदु or कटु, पण्डितं, कुशलं, चपलं and निपुणं. Of these, the word संपन्नं has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; पैदु is formed by ड (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as नित् (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. पण्डित is formed by क्त to the root पङ्, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (कुशान् लाति = कुशलः, ला आशने, or Uṇ I. 106), चपल being formed by a चित् affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for चित् is understood in the Uṇadi sūtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sūtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word निपुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क् affix added to पुण् &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्पष्ट &c' Observe परमलवणम् उत्तमलवणम्, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः ॥

अज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति चोत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from अ (V. 3. 60), ज्य (V. 3. 61) अवम and कन् (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप ॥

Thus गैमनश्रेष्ठम्, or गैमनश्रेयः, वैष्णवश्रेष्ठम् or वैष्णवश्रेयः, गैमनावमम्, वैष्णवानवमम्, गैमनकनिष्ठम् or गमनकनीयः ॥ So also गैमनपापिष्ठम्, गैमनपापीयः ॥ All the first members are ल्युट् formed words and have लिट् accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words अ, ज्य and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say “अ &c” ? Observe गमनशोभनम् ॥ Why do we say ‘a verbal Noun’ ? Observe गमनश्रेयः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते इनेन ‘a carriage’. Why do we say ‘a Karmadhāraya compound’ ? Observe गमनं श्रेयः = गमनश्रेयः ॥

कुमारश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारकुलदा, कुमारश्रमणा, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाम् with the affix शब् of पञ्चादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with श्रमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by श्रमण &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणश्रुति-प्रसक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तयैव ग्रहणम् “whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed.” Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhāraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयश्रुति वर्धते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्म-धारस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhāraya compound of Kumāra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumāra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ The word udātta is required to be read into the sūtra to complete the sense : for the construction of the sūtra requires it, and the anuvritti of the ‘first member preserves its accent’ would be inappropriate because the word आदि is employed here.

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूगेषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूगा गणास्तद्वाचिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word पुग means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुँमारचातकाः or कुमारैचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकाः ॥ So also कुँमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारैलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाः ॥ So also with कुँमारबलाहकाः, कुमारैबीधुतकाः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix ड्य is added to them by V. 3. 112: which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word 'Kumâra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शरावेषु, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपदं कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (इक्), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव ॥

Thus पैञ्चारत्निः, देशारत्निः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पञ्चारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting-affix नाञच् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also पैञ्चमास्यः, देशमास्यः = पञ्च मासान् धृतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix यप् (V. 1. 80—82). So also पैञ्चवर्षः, देशवर्षः the affix ङस् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also पैञ्चकपालः, देशकपालः, पैञ्चभगालः, देशभगालः, पैञ्चशरावः, देशशरावः ॥ These are also Taddhitârtha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix भण् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पञ्चभिरप्यैक्रीतः = पञ्चाश्वैः, दशाश्वैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमाश्वैः, परमशरावैश्च ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in इक् vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus पैञ्चारत्न्यः or पैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect:" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तादिषूत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapāla, bhagāla and śarāva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बह्वरत्निः or बह्वरत्निः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालः, बहुशरावः or बहुशरावः ॥ The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कृ (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to वृ, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus वैञ्चदिष्टिः or पञ्चदिष्टिः, वैञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words diṣṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा चेत्सप्तमी कालात् भवति ॥

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व and बन्ध in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sāmkaśya and kāmṣilya have acute on the final, and by Phit Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निधनशुष्कः, ऊकशुष्कः ॥ The word निधन is derived by क्यु affix added to नि-धाञ् and has acute on the middle ; the word ऊक is formed from अक् root by the affix कृ, and has acute on the final. So also भ्राष्ट्रपक्वः, कुम्भीपक्वः, कलशीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhī and Kalaśī are formed by डीप् affix and have acute on the final ; the word भ्राष्ट्र is formed by ष्ट् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः, चारकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and chāraka being formed by षुल् has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्नसिद्धः, अपराह्नसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4i. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarred by Kṛit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debarbs this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and reordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि, प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयववाचिनि चोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayībhāva compound also).

Thus परित्रिगतं वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिसोवीरम्, परिसार्वसनि, परिपूर्वात्रम् ॥ So also प्रतिपूर्वाह्णम्, प्रत्यपराह्णम्, प्रत्यपररात्रम्, उपपूर्वाह्णम्, उपापराह्णम्, उपपूर्वात्रम्, उपापररात्रम् ॥ अप-त्रिगतं वृष्टो देवः, अपसोवीरम्, अपसार्वसनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Piṭ Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrīhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayībhāva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शूलभाः पतन्ति ॥ In परिवनम् "all round the forest, but not in it", the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debarbs this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वन in a compound.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृत्स्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वोऽन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्त्तते सत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

34. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in

the plural number, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vṛishṇi.

Thus **श्वफल्कचैत्रकाः, चैत्रकरोधका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥** The words Śvāphalka and Chaitraka are formed by **अण्** affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word **शिनि** has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe **द्वैप्यहैमायनाः ॥** Here **द्वैप्य** is derived from **द्वीप** by the affix **यञ्** (IV. 3. 10) = **द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमेरपत्यं युवा ॥** These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word **राज्य** here, means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of annointed kings and warriors (**अभिषिक्तवंश्याः**); these (Dvaipya and Haimāyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe **संकर्षणवांसुदैवौ ॥** Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe **वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमारीः ॥** Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans'? Observe **कुरुपञ्चालैः ॥**

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus **एकादश, द्वीदश, त्रयोदश** or **चयोदश ॥** The word **एक** is derived from **इण्** by **कन्** affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The **त्रयस्** is the substitute of **त्रि** (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word **अन्तेवासी** means 'a pupil' 'a boarding' not a day scholar'. When the scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is **आचार्योपसर्जनः** or teacher-derived name. Thus **आपिशलि-पाणिनीयाः, पाणिनीय-सैदीयाः, सैदीयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥** The son of Apisāla is **आपिशलि** the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an āchārya : formed by **इञ्** affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called **आपिशलम्**, formed by adding **अण्** affix to **आपिशलाः** (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apisālam are also called **आपिशलाः** the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apisāli will be also called **Apisālāḥ**. Thus in both ways **Apisālāḥ** is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word **आचार्योपसर्जन** qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and

not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not here पाणिनीय-देवदत्तौ where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छान्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तिकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तिकौजप, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तिकौजपादया ये द्वन्द्वास्तेषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तिकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्तिकौजपो (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सार्वणिमाण्डूकेयौ (sâvarni is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by टक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यदमकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix न्यान् by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrâj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पैलदयापर्णेयाः (Paila is derived from Pîlâ the son of Pîlâ is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding किञ् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyâparna belongs to Bidâdi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyâparni, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyâparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलदयापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिदयापर्णेयाः (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यञ् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. सैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयाः (Śitikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikāksha by अण्, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāñchâla's female descendant is Pāñchâlî, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchâleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have सैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवार्चलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इञ् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalâ is Varchaleya).

8. शकलशुनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śākalya, his pupils are Śākalâḥ by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śaunaka by अञ् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इञ् affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधात्रेयः ॥

9. शणकधात्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bâbhraṇa). 10. आर्चाविमौह्याः (Archâvinah are those who study the work produced by Rîchâva, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaṇvādi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalāḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). 11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्राः. This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surāshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्राः as the last. 13. तण्डवतण्डाः (Both belong to Pachādi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडेने Bhvādi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अण्, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargādi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यस् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः Here also यस् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. अविमत्तकामवधाः or विद्धाः ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नस् particle. Both the words lose इस् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः The son of Bābhru is Bābhraṇa, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṅkāyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युताः Dānchyuta takes इस् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः, Kāṭhāḥ are those who read the work of Kāṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kālāpin are Kālāpāḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kālāpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vārtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौथुमाः Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुमाः formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vārt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाक्षाः Those who study the work of Lokāksha are Laukā-kshāḥ. Or the son of Lokāksha is Laukākshi, the pupils of latter are Laukākshāḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strī has accent on the final.

22. मौदपैप्पलादाः, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudāḥ. So also Paippalādaḥ.

23. मौदपैप्पलादाः The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्तः = वत्स + जरत् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः, The pupils of Śuśruta and Pṛithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जराश्रुत्य, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yājya is formed by ण्यन्, added to यज, the ज् is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तिन् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvākya is derived from anu + vach + ण्यन् ॥

महान् ब्रीह्यपराङ्मृष्टीष्वासजावालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ महान्, ब्रीहि, अपराङ्, मृष्टि, इष्वास, जावाल, भारं, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्त्तते, इन्द्रइति निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्ण, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हेलहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । •

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हेलहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महौव्रीहिः, महौपराह्णः, महौगृष्टिः, महौष्वासः, महौजाबालः, महौभारः, महौभारतः, महौहेलहिलः, महौरौरवः, महौप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhāraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो व्रीहिः = महद्व्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sūtra ?
Ans. That sūtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुल्लकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुल्लक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महांश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महौवैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुल्लकौवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुभ् लति = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udātta on the final.

उष्ट्रः सादिवाभ्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रः, सादि, वाभ्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाभ्योरुत्तरपदयोः प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushtra' retains its accent before 'sâdi' and 'vâmi'.

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by घ्न affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादंसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद, सादि सारथि इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'sâda', 'sâdi', and 'sârathi'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां सादयति = गोँसादः, गोः सादिः = गोँसादिः, and गोँसारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसाक्षी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन्, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथे ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समा-सास्तेषां दासीभाराणां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्योर्गार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—'Kuru-gârhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Asûta-jaratî', 'Aslîla-dṛiḍha-rûpâ', 'Pâre-vaḍabâ', 'Taitila-kadrûḥ', 'Paṇya-kambalaḥ' and 'Dâsî-bhâra &c'.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरुणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24.) and has acute on the final.

Vârt:—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः = रिँक्तगुरुः or रिँक्तगुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = अँसूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा = अँश्लीलदृढरूपा ॥ Asûta and aslîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called श्लील, the affix लच्, being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kâpilakâdi class. So also पारेवडबा, this is = पारेवडबेव ॥ This is a samâsa with the force of इव, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghṛitâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैँतिलकद्रूः, 'the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vârt:—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being formed by a kritya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kritya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dâsi bhârâdi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवैजूतिः, देवैसूतिः, देववीतिः, वैसुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix Un I. 9. 10). ओषधिः = ओषधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by षञ् has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माङ् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as डित् (Un IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by रक् affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तदर्थ्यन्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थं यत्तद्वाचिन्त्युत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामृश्यते ।

43. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus रथहारः, कुण्डलहिरण्यम् ॥ The word रथ् has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Un III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Un I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रथहारः, वल्लीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Valli has acute on the final formed by डीष् affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुवेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus मात्रे इहं = मातृार्थम्, देवैतार्थम्, अतिथिर्ग्रन्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Unâdi sūtra (Un II. 95): देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle; अतिथि is formed by इथिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between तदर्थ and अर्थ is that the former, like वारु 'wood', हिरण्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptibility, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with तदर्थ and the other with अर्थ indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to अश्वघासः, श्वश्रुसुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

केच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्कान्ते चोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in क् ॥

Thus मोहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अश्वहितम्, गोक्षितम्, अश्वरक्षितम्, तापसैरक्षितम् वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भोक्षीयते and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्ठा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे क्कान्तउत्तरपदे ऽनिष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus अणि-कृताः, पूर्णकृताः, ऊर्जकृताः, निधनकृताः ॥ The word अणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूग is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गक् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊर्ज is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निधन has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhâraya compound? Observe अण्या कृतं = अनेककृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhâ word?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे क्कान्तउत्तरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कष्टश्चितः, त्रिशकलपतितः, मर्मगतः ॥ Kṣṭha has acute on the end, trīṣakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīṇi śakalāni asya), and consequently acute on the first : grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to ग्रस्, the final being replaced by आ (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तरातीति, योजनातीति, because one has taken himself beyond kântāra and yojana.

Vart :—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as सुखप्राप्तः, दुःखप्राप्तः सुखापन्नः, दुःखापन्नः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि कान्तउत्तरपदे तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta', when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus अहिहृतः or अहिहृतः रुद्रहृतः, वैजहृतः, महाराजहृतः, नखनिर्मिता, दौत्रलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix इण् (Uṇ IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first: Rudra is formed by रुक् affix (Uṇ II. 22) added to the causative रोदि; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix टच्; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by भच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dātra is formed by टन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ के कर्मणीति वर्त्तते । कर्मवाचिनि कान्तउत्तरपदे गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive signification, retains its accent.

Thus प्रकृतः, प्रकृतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धृतः, सङ्गृहृतः, समुद्धृतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उन् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दूतान् + आगतः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दूताङ्गगतः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धृतः = अभ्युद्धृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृदग्रहणं गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ॥ "A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed; a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word **अनन्तर** in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word **कर्मणि** is understood here also; as, **प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः ॥** This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ च तुशब्दवर्जिते नाति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with **त्**, which has an indicatory **त्**, but not before **तु ॥**

Thus **प्रकर्ता** (with **त्**) **प्रैकर्तुम्** (with **तुप्**), **प्रैकृतिः** (with **क्तिन्**) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with **त्**"? Observe **प्रजैल्पाकः** formed with the affix **पाकन्** (III. 2. 155), and the Gati **प्र**, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say "which is **नित्**"? Observe **प्रकर्ता** formed by **तृच्** affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment **इद्**, it does not lose its character of beginning with **त्** on the Vartika **कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिडर्थम् ॥** Thus **प्रैर्लापता, प्रैर्लापतुम् ॥** Why do we say "but not before **तु**"? Observe **आगन्तुः** with the Upâdi affix **तुन् ॥**

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्. (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं युगपद्भवति ॥

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an 'Infinitive in' **तवै** (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus **अन्वेतवै, परिस्तरितवै, परिपातवै, अभिचारितवै ॥** All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares **उपसर्गा आद्युदात्ता अभिवर्जम् ॥** This debars **कृन्** accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्र-कृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवत्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये वरतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च् when an affix having a व् follows.

Thus प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पैराङ्, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix व्'? Observe उदञ्चनः ॥ When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पैराचः and पैराचाः ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतावप्रत्यये ॥ The affix व् is like क्लिप् &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यथी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a व् affix.

Thus न्यङ्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अँध्यङ्, अँध्यञ्चौ, अँध्यञ्चः, अँधीनः, अँधीचः, नीचः, नीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्येतत्पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

54. The word ईषत् when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus ईषत्कडारः or ईषत्कडारेः, ईषत्पिङ्गलः or ईषत्पिङ्गलेः ॥ ईषत् has acute on the final. But in ईषद्भेदः &c, the Kṛit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of prati-padokta, those formed by ईषत् with non-Kṛit words under II. 2. 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धनं ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, धने, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाचि पूर्वपदे धनशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus हिरण्यवर्णधनम् or हिरण्यवर्णधनैम् ॥ This is a Karmadhāraya compound हिरण्यवर्णो परिमाणनस्य = हिरण्यवर्णं, तत्रैव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as हिरण्यवर्णधनः or हिरण्यवर्णधनैः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रस्थधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe क्राञ्चनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमो अचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः, अचिरः, उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरावसंपत्तिर-
चिरोपश्लेषोऽभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word प्रथमं when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमवैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अमच् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चिन् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥५७॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकतः or कतरकटः, कतमकतः or कतमकटः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sūtra, this sūtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥ पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word आर्य optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणैः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ण्यन् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणैः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya'? Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणैः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आर्ये (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥५९॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word राजन् retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus राजब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणः, राजकुमारः or राजकुमारः ॥ The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (Uṇ I. 156). But राज्ञो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhāraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathāśankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent sūtra into which the anuvṛtti of राजन् runs and not of आर्य ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजेति वर्त्तते, अन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युच्चरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रत्येनस् ॥

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः or राज्ञः प्रत्येना ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When आक्रोश is not meant we have, राजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनाः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाभ = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

के नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कान्तउत्तरपदे नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in क् ॥

Thus नित्यप्रहसितः or नित्यप्रहसितैः, सततप्रहसितः or सततप्रहसितैः ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. नित्य is formed by त्यप् affix added to the upasarga णि (IV. 2. 104 Vārt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudātta (III. 1. 4). The word सतत being formed by क् affix with the force of भावः, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कर्मणि क्, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe मुहूर्त्तप्रहसितैः ॥ In the case of नित्यप्रहसितः &c the samāsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpuruṣa accent VI. 2. 2. this in its turn was set aside by क् accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिल्पिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिल्पिनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपदे शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus ग्रामनापितः or ग्रामनापितैः, ग्रामकुलालः or ग्रामकुलालैः ॥ The word ग्राम has acute on the first. Why do we say “ग्राम”? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say ‘a śilpi a professional workman’? Observe ग्रामरथ्या; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word राजन् followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus राजनापितः or राजनापितैः, राजकुलालः or राजकुलालैः “A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even” &c. It may be either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say ‘राजन्’? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say ‘when denoting praise’? Observe राजनापितैः ‘king’s barber’. Why do we say ‘a professional man’? Observe राजहस्ती ‘a royal elephant’.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase “the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute”, is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikâra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूर्वपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase ‘âdir udâtta’ should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The very next sūtra illustrates it. That sūtra literally means “a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हरण”. To complete the sense we must supply the words “has acute on the first syllable”. Thus स्तूपशाणः, मुकुटं कार्याणम्, यज्ञिकाश्च, नैयाकरणइस्ती ॥ The word आदि ‘the first syllable’ is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch : it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्ये ऽहरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदं धर्म्यवाचिनि हरणशब्दान्यास्मिन्नुत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

65. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the Receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting ‘what is lawful’, but not when it is हरण ॥

The word **हारिण्** means 'appropriates the dues or taxes': and **धर्म्यम्** means 'the due or tax which has been determined by the custom or usage, of the country, town, sect or family. that which one is lawfully entitled to get'. The word **धर्म्यं** is formed by **यत्** under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: — **स्तुपे-ज्ञाणः**, **सुकुदे-कार्षापणम्**, **हैले-द्विपदिका**, **हैले-त्रिपदिका**, **हैषदि-माषकः** ॥ These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10. With the name of a due-receiver **हारी** we have the following: — **याज्ञिकाश्वः** 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also **वैयाकरणहस्ती**, **मौतुलाश्वः**, **पितृव्यगवः** ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a **ज्ञाण** coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe **स्तम्बरैः**, **कर्मकरवर्द्धितकैः**, **वर्द्धितको नाम मूले स्थूलोमे सूक्ष्म ओदन पिण्डः**, **स कर्मकराय दीयते**, **अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति**, **न त्वयं धर्मः** ॥ Why do we say "but not before **हरण**"? Observe **वाडबहरणम्** 'that which is given to a mare'. **हरण** is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word **हरण** is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a **हारी** denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus **वाडबहायः** has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाचिनि च समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word **युक्त** means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus **गोबल्लवः** 'a cowherd looking after cow': **अश्वबल्लवः**, **गोमणिन्दः**, **अश्वमणिन्दः**, **गोसंख्यः**, **अश्वसंख्यः** ॥ All these word **बल्लवः**, **मणिन्दः**, **संख्यः** &c mean **पालकः** 'the protector &c.

विभाषा ऽध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यक्षशब्दोत्तरपदे विभाषा पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word **अध्यक्ष** follows.

Thus **मैवाध्यक्षः** or **गवाध्यक्षः** 'a superintendent of cows': **अश्व्याध्यक्षः** or **अश्व्याध्यक्षः** ॥

पापं च शिल्पिनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिल्पिनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽऽद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पापनापितः or पापनापितैः, पापकुलालः or पापकुलालैः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samāsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्थनापितः = पापनापितैः ॥

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, अन्तेवासि, माणव, ब्राह्मणेषु, क्षेपे, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिनि चोत्तरपदे माणवब्राह्मणयोश्च क्षेपवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तम् भवति ॥

69, The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before माणव and ब्राह्मण, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जंघावात्स्यः = यो जंघावान् दशन्यहमिति वात्स्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र भ्रातृदो वात्स्या-
नामिव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावात्स्यः सन् वात्स्याहमिति ब्रूते तद्भावाय सः ॥ भार्यासंभृतः 'a de-
scendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The com-
pounding takes place by the analogy of शाक्रपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाखाब्राह्मकृतयः (Brahmakṛita
belongs to Subhrādi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now
with scholar names. कुमारीशक्षाः 'the pupils of Dakṣha for the sake of marriage
i. e. who study the work of Dakṣha or make themselves the pupils of Dakṣha
for the sake of girls'. कैम्बलचारायणीयाः, वृत्तराठीयाः, and औदनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षामाणवः
= भिक्षालप्स्येहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ दौसीब्राह्मणः, वैष्णवी ब्राह्मणः, भैयब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः
संपद्यते ॥ Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we
say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe दौसीभ्रात्रियैः ॥ Why do we say
'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दोत्तरपदे तदङ्गवाचीनि पूर्वपदान्याद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding मैरेय, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus शुद्धमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'.
मधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting
'an ingredient?' Observe परमैरेयैः ॥ Why do we say "before मैरेय?" Observe
पुष्पासर्वैः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्त्रं तदख्यास्तदर्थेषु चोत्तरपदेषु आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भिक्षावासः, भक्तकंसः, भ्राणाकंसः, भ्राणीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशालार्थः (the word समाश=समशनं is the name of 'an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रियः, which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोविडालसिंहसैन्धवेपूपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, विडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवादिपूपमानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, विडाल, सिंह, and सैन्धव ॥

Thus धान्यगवः=धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyāghrādi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हिरण्यगवः, भिक्षाविडालः, ब्राह्मणविडालः, तूणसिंहः, कौष्ठसिंहः, सैन्धुसैन्धवः, पानसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparison"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

73. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable when the second member is a word ending in the affix अक, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus ईन्तलेखकः, नखलेखकः, अक्षरशोधकः, रमणीयकारकः = ईन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वल्, डन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आद्युदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवाचिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे ऽकप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the, the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus ईशालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शालभञ्जिका, तालभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ण्वुल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by ण्वुच् (III. 3. 11f) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपदे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छेत्रधारः, हृणीधारः, कैमण्डलुग्राहः, शृङ्गारधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चक्षुः कृञो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तैन्तुवायः, तुन्नवायः, बालवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावैः, शरलावैः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारैः, अयस्कारैः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे ऽकृञः पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तैन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. बालवायः 'the hill Vālavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as रथकारैः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो तन्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यवपालः ॥ The word तन्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तरे+क्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c? Observe वत्सपालः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल'? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

णिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुष्पहारिन्, फलहारिन्, वैष्णवारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थ, प्रकृतौ, एव, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदे शब्दार्थ प्रकृतावेव णिनन्तउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened: शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus उट्टक्रोशिन्, ध्वङ्गक्षराविन्, खरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृक्वञ्चिन्, वृक्प्रक्षिन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गङ्गाधारिन्, कौकिलभिव्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उन् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable only then, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थ प्रकृतौ उपमानं चानुपमानं चाद्युदात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजल्पिन्, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamāna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended: because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamāna word or not. The word एव, therefore restricts upamāna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamāna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

81. The compounds, युक्तारोहिन् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनर्ही, 6 आगतनन्ही, 7 आगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c must be preceded by युक्त, &c and युक्त &c followed by रोहिन् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहिन् though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्यायिन् ॥ 8 आगतमत्स्या or मत्स्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 भगिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 आमगोधुक, 12 अश्वत्रिराजः, 13 गर्गत्रिराजः, 14 व्युष्टत्रिराजः, 15 शनपादः (गणपादः), 16 समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एकशितिपात् = एकःशितिःपादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi of three terms. The word एकशितिः is a Taddhitārtha Samāsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकशितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in शिति, are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विशितिपाद् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचनं ज्ञापक निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāṣya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पाञ्चसमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्ही (आगतनर्ही), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमत्स्यः (आगतमत्स्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 भगिनीभर्ता, 10 आमगोधुक, 11 अश्वत्रिराजः, 12 गर्गत्रिराजः, 13 व्युष्टत्रिराजः, 14 गणपादः (शनपादः), 15 एकशितिपात्, 16 पाञ्चसमितादयश्च (पाञ्चसमितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र, वटम्, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट इत्येतानि च जडन्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काश्, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र or वट, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुटीजः, हौमीजः, कौशजः, तुषजः, भ्राष्ट्रजः वैटजः These are formed by the affix ड added to जन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वे बह्वचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बह्वचः (उदात्तम् जे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जउत्तरपदे बह्वचः पूर्वपदस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वपदस्य भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by ज, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसैरजः, मन्दुरजः, आमलक्रीजः, and वडैबाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe रन्ध्रजानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति न चेन्ननिवसद्वाचिभवति ॥

84. Before ग्राम, the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मल्लग्रामः, वैणिग्ग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देव-ग्रामः = देवस्वामिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe शाक्षिग्रामः 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिकग्रामः 'a village inhabited by Māhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus शाक्षिघोषः, शाक्षिकटः, शाक्षिपल्लवः, शाक्षिवरः, शाक्षिवल्लभः, शाक्षिहवः, शाक्षिपिङ्गलः, शाक्षिपिशङ्कुः, शाक्षिमाला, शाक्षिरक्षा, शाक्षिशाला, or (रक्षः or शालः), शाक्षिशिल्पी, शाक्ष्यश्वथः, शाक्षिशाल्मली, कुन्वतृणम्, औश्रममुनिः, शाक्षिपुंसा, शाक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वल्लभ (पल्लव), 4 हव, 5 वररी (वर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिशङ्कु, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शास्मली, 13 अश्वथ, 14 तृण, 15 शिल्पी, 16 मुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकूटः पुंसा) ॥

छाज्याढयः शालायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाज्याढयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालायामुत्तरपदे छाज्याढय आद्युदात्ता भवति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐलिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 पेलि (ऐलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आदि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे ऽवृद्धमकक्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकक्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थशब्दउत्तरपदे कक्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्की &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus ईन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, ह्रस्वप्रस्थः, सुवणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in राक्षिप्रस्थः, माहिक-प्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्थः मधीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मधी (मधी), 3 मकरी, 4 कर्कण्डु (कर्कण्डू), 5 शमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कडुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कूरल), 9 बदरी (बदर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थइति वर्त्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 खाक्षा, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदी-चाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महन्नवशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तच्चेदुदीचां न भवति ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus सुहृन्नगरम्, पुण्ड्रनगरम्, विपुण्ड्रनगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णे द्व्यच्त्र्यच् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, द्व्यच्, त्र्यच्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मेऽक्षरउत्तरपदे द्व्यच् त्र्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तिमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्मे has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ईत्तार्मम्, गुप्तार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वीयत्तार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)'? Observe बृहदर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

न भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकञ्जलम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्म, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मेऽक्षरउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥ वास्तिकम् ॥ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे द्विविदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz : भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्मन् and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अश्मार्मम्, मद्राश्मार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrāśman) कञ्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vārt:—In the Vedas the words द्विविदास &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus द्विविदासाय गायत, वध्यध्याय राशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वे गुणक्वात्स्न्ये ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, क्वात्स्न्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणक्वात्स्न्ये वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, सर्वमहान् ॥ Why do we say सर्व? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred: but the accent is not on the final of परम ॥ Why do we say 'attributive word'? Observe सर्वसौवर्णः, 'golden', सर्वरजतः 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकात्स्न्य here at all, but a विकारकात्स्न्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kārtsnya or complete pervasion'. Observe सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kārtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇi", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2, 11. ? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vārtika गुणात्तरण समासो वक्तव्यः, तरलोपश्च ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before गिरि and निकाय has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus अञ्जनागिरिः, भञ्जनागिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिण्डिनिकायः, मौण्डिनिकायः, चिखिर्लिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

कुमार्या वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्यामुत्तरपदे वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. जरत्कुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by डीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth; how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans*; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके स्केवले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदकाश्चउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोदकम् or गुडोदकम्, तिलोदकम् or तिलोदकम् ॥ When we have already made the उ and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुडा and तिला and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अकेवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As क्षीतोदकम्, उष्णोदकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगवुत्तरपदे क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गचिराचः, चारकचिराचः, कुसुमविन्दुसम्राचः = गर्गाणां चिराचः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिराचः (रात्रिमतिकान्त इति प्रादिसमासः) which being formed by the Samasānta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe बिल्वसम्राचः = बिल्वशतस्य बिल्वशतस्य वा सम्राचः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरपदे नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

98. Before the word सभा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालसभम्, पशुपालसभम्, स्त्रीसभम्, दार्सीसभम्, गावडालसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा, ब्राह्मणसभा ॥ The word सभा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयसभं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे प्राचां देशे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

99. Before the word पुर, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus लङ्गैपुरम्, काँडीपुरम्, शिवदत्तपुरम्, कृष्णपुरम्, नारैपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्टं, गौड, पूर्वे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्येवं पूर्वं समासे पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पूर्व in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टभित्तपुरम्, गौडभूयपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपदे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मार्देय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, ५९. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् ॥ The son of वृद्धि is मार्देय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Śubhrādi class. The ङ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलशब्द उत्तरपदे अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word बिल ॥

Thus कुसूलैबिलम्, कूपैबिलम्, कुम्भैबिलम्, शालैबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्व-बिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलस्वामी ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामजन-पदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिष्युत्तरपदेषु चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वपुत्राग्रशामी, अपरपुत्राग्रशामी or पूर्व and अपर (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वकृष्णशुक्तिका, अपरकृष्णशुक्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वपञ्चालाः, अपरपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वाधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वयायातम्, पूर्वाधिरामकम्, अपरयायातम् ॥ So also पूर्वचानराटम्, अपर चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-determining दिक् words as in पूर्वयायातम् should also be included. The word आधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्ते-वासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिवाचिष्युत्तरपदे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपरंपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृष्णाः, अपरंकाशकृष्णाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहितौ वृद्धिस्तद्व्युत्तरपदे सर्वशब्दोर्विकृष्टशान्तोवात्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having झ्, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being सु, सर्व and अर्ध ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरंपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by वुञ् affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदे संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोऽज्ञत्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञाः, विश्वमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्व-देवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe विश्वदेवा अस्य = विश्वदेवः ॥ But विश्वामित्रः and विश्वामित्रः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix क्वन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञाः, and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलमित्रः, कुलमित्रः ॥ But in विश्वामित्रः and विश्वामित्रः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 super- sedes this.

उदराश्वेषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु षु ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

107. 'The first member in a Bahuvrīhi, before the words उदर, अश्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृकोदरः, शोमोदरः, हर्षाश्वः, यौवनाश्वः, सुवर्णपुङ्खेषुः and महेषुः ॥ This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word शोम is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हेरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Uṇ IV. 118). The word यौवन if considered as an underived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from युवन् with the affix अण् then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrīhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrīhi compound सुवर्णपुङ्खाः has acute on ण by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrīhi with इषु gets accent on ख ॥ The word महत is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदरादिषु उत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अश्व and इषु in a Bahuvrīhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोदरः, घटोदरः, कटुकाश्वः, स्यान्विताश्वः, अनिघातोषुः, चलाचलोषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrīhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even with out this sūtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यान्वित is formed by the Nishta affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघ्न being an avyayibhāva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुदरः and मूरः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and सु are concerned.

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे बन्धुन्युत्तरपदे नद्यन्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrīhi compound having the word बन्धु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गौर्गीबन्धुः, वात्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गौर्गी and वात्सी are formed by adding डीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गान्ध and वात्स्य ending in 'यम्' (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra. Why 'do we say "a Nadi (Feminine in ई) word" ? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Up IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say " before बन्धु " ? Observe गौर्गीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्य-तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तसुपसर्गपूर्वे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोऽक्षत् भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, a Participle in क preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रधीतमुखः or प्रधीतमुखः (VI. 2. 169); or प्रधीतमुखः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालितपादः or प्रक्षालितपादः ॥ When the word मुख means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable खः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र, which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say " a Nishṭhā " ? Observe प्रसवकमुखः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained after प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'preceded by a preposition' ? Observe शुष्कमुखः which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरित्येतदधिकृतम् । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्याविरुद्धात्ता मवतीत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

111. In the following sūtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase, "the first syllable of the second member has the acute".

This is an alhikāra aphorism and the word उत्तरपद exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च कर्णशब्दउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तत्वं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्लकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have शम्भुकर्णः शङ्कुकर्णः, the lengthening of शम्भु and शङ्कु takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कण ? Observe श्वेतपादः, कूटशृङ्गः here श्वेत being formed by अच् (II. 1. 134) is end acute, and कूट being formed by क (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनपादः where शोभन being formed by शुच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुव्रीहिर्वर्तते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrīhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुञ्चिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोकर्णः, खरकर्णः denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा, जङ्घ, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ ग्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrīhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparison खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठः, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुग्रीवः, नीलग्रीवः, वरग्रीवः ॥ Resemblance गोप्रीवः, अश्वप्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घः, तालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोर्जङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एणीजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घ is in Neuter gender, and जङ्घा is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुग्रीवः the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on ग्री ॥

शृङ्गमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्गम्, अवस्थायाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदमवस्थायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुव्रीहौ आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrīhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member शृङ्ग gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उद्गतशृङ्गः, व्युत्थलशृङ्गः, अशुलशृङ्गः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—कण्ठशृङ्गः comparison: गोशृङ्गः, मेघशृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्त्वमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नङ् उत्तरे जरमरमित्त्वमृता बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृता ॥

Thus अजरैः, अमरैः, अमित्रैः and अमृतैः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्राः ॥ Why do we say “जर &c”. Observe अशङ्कः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी बलोमोपसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उपसी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोः उत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोपसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrīhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उपस् has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुकर्मन्, सुधर्मन्, सुप्रथिमन्, सुर्वयस्, सुर्वयस्, सुर्वयस्, सुर्वयस्, सुर्वयस् so also सुर्वयस् and सुर्वयस् from the root क्षस् and ध्वस् with the affix क्विप् ॥ The final स् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asiddha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ॥ Why do we say ‘after सु?’ Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयशस् ॥ Why do we say ‘ending in मन् and अस्?’ Observe सुराजन् and सुतक्षन् formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), and the accent is on श and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उपस्? Observe सुलोमन् and सुर्वयस् (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनित्यमन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तर्विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति “whenever अन्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) represent these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning”. Therefore the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिच् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशस् is formed by अशुन् (Uṇ IV. 191), and so also स्रोतस् (Uṇ IV. 202); but in सुर्वयस् (सुर्वयस् from ध्वस् with the affix क्विप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मकः, सुस्रोतकः ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वादयः सोः उत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

118. After सु in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्तु &c.

Thus सुकैतुः, सुदंशीकः, सुमैर्पतिः, सुहैव्यः, सुभैगः, सुमैर्तकः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्वयञ्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं द्वयञ् उच्चारणं बहुव्रीहौ समासे सौहृत्तर तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वद्वसिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here स्वथः and सुरथः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अथ and रथ are formed by क्तु (Uṇ I. 151) and कथन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the निन् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुंवाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here वाहु has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुयुरसन्, सुहृण्यः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौच ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च शब्दौ सौहृत्तौ बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

120. In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्यैस्त्वय्यस (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यस्य पत्न्यः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्य is formed by यन् affix and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to वीर्य ॥ The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is ādyudātta.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम्, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावसमाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

121. In an Avyayībhāva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परित्तीरम्, उपतीरम्, परित्तूलम्, उत्तूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपाक्षम्, पर्याक्षम्, सुषमम्, विषमम्, निषमम् and दुषमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayībhāva

compound ?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विचरौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विचरौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विचरौ समासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (दाभ्यां कंसाभ्यां क्रीत् the affix टिठन् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix ठक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अश् V. 1. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपाय्यः, त्रिपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu ? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम्, क्षत्रियशालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha" ? Observe दृढशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrīhi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishṭhā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला ?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter' ? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कन्थाशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिककन्थम्, आह्वककन्थम्, चण्डककन्थम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशमः (सुशमः शमो यस्य) आह्वर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb ह्व् and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have शक्तिकन्था ॥

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिहणकन्यम्, मैडरकन्यम्, मैडुरकन्यम् ॥ The repetition of the word भाहि in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिहण is derived from the root चिनाति with क्विप् which gives चित् and हन is formed by adding भच् (III. 1. 134) to हन् ॥ चित् + हन = चिहण the elision of त् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, भार्याचेलम्, उपानतुखेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) इधिकैटुकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उदभित्तकैटुकम्, भूतकाण्डम् (काण्डमिति शरनाम, तद्यथा सत्वपीडाकर मेव भूतमपि) प्रजाकाण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रश्चेलमिव i. e. चेलवन् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyaghrādi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुत्तरपदमुपमानवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीरम्, पटचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पललं, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि मिश्रवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus गुडपललम्, घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशौकम्, घृतशौकम् = गुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्षाः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus वाक्षिकूलम्, आहिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, राण्डायनस्थली, माहिकस्थली, वाक्षिकर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यामयेतदुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhāraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कुंचेलम्, कुराज्यम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमादीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhāraya Tatpurusha compound, the words वर्ग्य &c have acute on the first syllable.

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपदेश्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपदेश्यः ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are nowhere exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-division of द्विगादि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यन् affix.

पुत्रः पुंशब्दः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुंशब्दः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्दश्च उत्तरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

132. The word पुत्र coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनटिपुत्रः, रामकपुत्रः, मात्स्यपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुत्र' ? Observe कौनटिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word' ? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वात्सीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजत्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, ऋत्त्विक, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः । ज्ञातयो नातृपितृसंबन्धिनो बान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दो नाद्युदात्तो भवति ।

133. The word पुत्र has not acute on the first syllable, when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher', राजा 'prince, king', कल्विज् 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as श्याला 'brother-in-law' &c; ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रः, उपाध्यायपुत्रः, शाकटायनकपुत्रः, राजपुत्रः, ईश्वरपुत्रः, नन्दपुत्रः, कल्विकपुत्रः, याज्ञकपुत्रः, हंतुःपुत्रः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रः, संबन्धिपुत्रः, श्यालकपुत्रः, ज्ञातिपुत्रः, भ्रातृपुत्रः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरिति वृत्तं ते तत्पुरुषइति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्तात्प्राणि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus मृत्तचूर्णम्, मसृत्तचूर्णम्, but मत्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपमहान्, the word उपमह being the ancient name of पट्टी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिप, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 दलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चकन (चकन चक्वन), 12 चोल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूर् (Div 50) with the affix क्; करिव and करिप are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क् (करिण्वति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक् with the affix इनङ् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक् with अटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शाकट; this with अण् (तद्धृति) gives शाकट; द्राक् क्षरति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarâdi); तुस् (शब्दे) with क् gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix क्विप् added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुदुनोति कुत्सतं वा दुनोति) the augment सुम् being added to कु ॥ कुन्दु मिमीते = कुन्दुमः ॥ दल with the affix कपन् gives दलपः, चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added डीप्; चकन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication, चोलस्यापत्यं = चोलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिषष्ठ्या आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पल्ल, सूप, शाक and कुल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126-129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As र्भर्कौण्डम्, शार्कौण्डम्; र्भर्चीरम्, कुशीचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples चार is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपल्लम्, मूलकशाकम्, सुहसूपः ॥ Here पल्ल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकुलम्, समुद्रकुलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe सजसूयः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देन कुण्डसादृश्येन वनं वर्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपदं वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus र्भर्कुण्डम्, शार्कुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe धनकुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunda. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुदाय, i. e. शारवणसमुदायः = शार्कुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकपालम्, कुम्भीनिर्दालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c. have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्मित्यावहज् बहुव्रीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अवहच्, बहुव्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेःसुत्तरपदे नित्ये यवबहज् भसच्छब्दवर्जितं बहुव्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrīhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus शितिपादः, शित्यंसः, शित्योष्ठः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः and ओष्ठः being formed by सम् (Uṇ V. 21) and यञ् (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'after शिति' ? Observe दर्शनीयपादः which being formed by the affix अनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always' ? Observe शितिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुर्, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शितिककुर्, hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word शिति has acute on the first syllable, by Phiṭ II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'abahvach or not many-syllable' ? Observe शितिललाटः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi ? Observe शितिः पादः = शितिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भसत्' ? Observe शितिभसत् ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषइति वर्त्तते न बहुव्रीहिविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच्च कृदन्तदुत्तरपरं तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpuruṣa, a word ending in a Kṛit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kāraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रकौरकः, प्रकौरणम्, प्रहौरकः, प्रहौरणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इध्मव्रश्चनः पलाशशतितनः, इमभुर्कल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—इषत्कौरः, दुष्कौरः, सुकौरः ॥ All these are formed by क्ति affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word व्रश्चन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रवृ-ञ्च्यते येन) ; so also with शतितन (पलाशानि शात्यन्ते क्तं, स इण्डः) ; so also with कल्पन (इमभु कल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word ?" Observe देवदत्तस्यकारकः = देवदत्तकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा षष्ठी denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness ; for a gati, karaka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a kṛit-formed word, if there is to be a samāsa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhātu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samāsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with trianta words. So that without employing कृन् in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृन् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचनितराम्, प्रपचनितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पचनितर and पचनितम ending in तरप् and तमप् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सांतांशट् (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृन् is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रपचति देशाय, or प्रपचति देशाय (V. 3. 67), or प्रपचतिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, वनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्यादि वृत्तिः । वनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वनस्पतिः, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुद् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहन् पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word बृहन् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) सचीपतिः (Sachī being formed by डीप्), some make Sachī acute on the first सचीपतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनूनपात् (tanū being formed by ऊ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napāt = na pāti or na palayati with क्तिप् and has acute on the first). (5) नराशंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Saṁsa is formed by चञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शुनः शेषः = शुन इव शेषोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi: the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vārt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शण्डामर्का both 'Santla' and 'Marka' being formed by चञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावरूची ॥ Tṛishṇa has acute on the first, वरूची has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बाविश्वयसां ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मर्मव्युः ॥ मर् is formed by विश् affix and व्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus **इन्द्रासौम्यो, इन्द्रावैरुणो, इन्द्रावैहस्पती** ॥ The word **इन्द्र** has acute on the first (by nipatana), **सौम** is formed by **मन्** (Uṇ I. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), **वैरुण** is formed by **उनन्** (Uṇ III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. **वैहस्पति** has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and **Indra-Brihaspati** has three acutes. Why do we say "names of divinities"? Observe **कक्षान्यघोषो** ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe **अग्निहोमः** ॥

नोत्तरपदे अनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे अनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु कृते देवतादन्ते नोभे युगपत्प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is **anudatta**, with the exception of **पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूषन्, and मन्थिन्** ॥

Thus **इन्द्राग्नौ, इन्द्रावै**; the words **Agni** and **Vayu** have acute on the final. The word **uttarapada** is repeated in the **sūtra**, in order that it should be qualified by the word '**anudattādau**', which latter would otherwise have qualified **Dvandva**. The word "**anudattādau**" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of '**prithivi**' &c? Observe **व्यावापृथिव्यो** or **व्यौ** **dvyāvā** has acute on the first, '**prithivi**' being formed by '**nīsh**', has acute on the final. **सौमारुद्रौ**, **Rudra** is formed by '**rak**' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. **इन्द्रापूषणो**, **Pūshan** has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) **सुक्रमन्थिनौ**, the words **Sukra** and **manthin** have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

**वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यदिह ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वि-
तव्यम् ॥**

143. In the following **sūtrās** up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next **sūtra**.

थायघञ्काजबित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क, अञ्, अप्, इञ्, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क अञ् अप् इञ् क इत्येवमन्तानामुत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपशस्वरूपान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in **थ, अथ, घञ्, क, अञ्, अप्, इञ्** and **क**, when preceded by a **Gati**, a **Kāraka** or an **Upapada** (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीयः, अवधूयः formed by कृथन् affix (Up II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अयः—आवसयः, उपवसयः formed by अथन् affix (Up III. 116). घम्—प्रभैः, काष्ठभैः, रज्जुभैः ॥ क्तः—वृत्तादागतैः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, भागत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विशुक्लैः आतपशुक्लैः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56.) :—प्रक्षयः, प्रजयः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवैः, प्रसवैः ॥ इत्र—प्रलवित्रम्, प्रसवित्रम् ॥ क—खरीवृषैः गोवृषैः = गां वर्षति, खरी वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vārt) : ब्रवृषैः, प्रहृषैः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष has acute on the first as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and अति being Kar-mapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् कः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतस्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदासत्तं भवति ॥

145. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुकृतम्, सुभुक्तम्, सुपीतम् ॥ With Upamāna words we have—वृत्ताद-लुप्तम्, शशालुप्तम्, सिंहविनाशितम् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतम् भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनोचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपपदात् क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदासत्तं भवति आचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

146. The Participle in 'kta' has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Karaka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संभूतो रामायणः, उपहृतः शाकल्यः, परिजग्मः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुषखाता नदी, कुशलखातम् नगरम्, हस्तिघ्नितो भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe औचित्यम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याप्त, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपष्टिष्ट*, 8 प्रष्टिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागति (संहिताशब्दो यदा गौरवस्य संज्ञा तदन्तोदासत्तं न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदन्तोदासत्त एव ॥)

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

प्रवृक्षादीनां च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवृक्षादीनाम्, च, (अन्तोदासत्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृक्षादीनां च क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदासत्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं धानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्तोः सक्तवः, आकर्षेऽवहितैः, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वा-
रुद्धः, कविशस्तः ॥ It is an Akritigāṇa. The words have acute on the final, even
when not followed by धान &c, though in the Ganapāṭha they are read along
with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with धान &c that these
words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigāṇa we have पुनस्तस्युतं
वासोवेद्यं, पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं धानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुक्तसुखवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः 4 आकर्षेऽवहितैः, 5
अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वारुद्धः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकादुत्तरयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव,
आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां नि वर्त्तते, क्त इति च । संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुत्तरयोरेव श्रुतयोरेव
क्लान्तयोरन्त उदासी भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kāraka).

Thus देवा एनंवेद्यासुः = देवदर्शनैः, विष्णुरेवं भूयाद् = विष्णुभूतैः ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and श्रुत"? Observe देवपालितः (VI. 2. 48), which, though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even. So that where a Participle in क्त is preceded by a kāraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kāraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Śruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkāraka word. As संभूतैः, विभूतैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता = देवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Śruta after a kāraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवदत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आह्वेतानस्ति देवदत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अ-
न्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासो वर्त्तते तत्र क्लान्तमुत्तरपद-
मन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

149. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition'.

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, छन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विपन्नभुतम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित् &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव), then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तपुनरपहं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

150. After a kāraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus ओदनभोजनम् सुखम्, पयपानम् सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालेपनम् सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनम्, शालयः, राजाच्छादनम् वा-
सांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sūtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhāva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhāva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन्"? Observe, हस्तहार्यपुनश्चिन् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhāva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe दन्तधार्यनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kāraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kāraka"? Observe निर्देशनम्, भवलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent,

मन्त्रकिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्र, कि-
न्त्र, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तं किन्त्रन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दभोजनपरमन्तोदा-
त्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन्त्र or किन्त्र affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kāraka word.

Thus मन्त्र—रथवर्मन्त्र, शकटवर्मन्त्र ॥ किन्त्र—पाणिनिकृतिः, भाषिणालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—
ब्रह्मयनव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्म-
णसनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम्, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ब्राह्मणयाजकः, क्षत्रिययाजकः, ब्राह्मणपूजकः, क्षत्रियपूजकः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, अश्वक्रीतः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kâraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रवृत्तिः ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिष्कारक, 4 परिषेवक परिवेषक 5 ज्ञापक ज्ञातक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उद्गाहक (उत्साहक) 8 उद्दत्तक, 9 हान्, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पक्षिगणक, 13 पोतृ, 14 हान्, 15 वर्तक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अभ्ययने पुण्यम् = अभ्ययनपुण्यैश्च, देशपुण्यैश्च ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डेः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇādi affix जन् (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe देवेन पुण्यं = देशपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्पराण्यन्तोशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषोर्नैश्च, कार्पाषणोर्नैश्च, मासविकलेश्च, कार्पाषणविकलेश्च, असिकलहैः, वाक्कलहैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word भर्त्य in the sūtra means the word-form भर्त्य, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, भर्त्य, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above;—धान्येनार्थाः = धान्यार्थैः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word भर्त्य ॥ By sūtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंधौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयोनि वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपदमनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोशात्तं भवत्यसंधौ गम्भिराने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus गुडमिश्रः, तिलमिश्रः, सर्पिमिश्रः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडभा-
जाः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्राः ॥ The
employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever
else, the word miśra is used, it includes miśra with a preposition also. There-
fore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental
compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say 'not
denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा = ब्राह्मणेः सह सहित ऐकार्थमापन्नः ॥ The
word सन्धि here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this
thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity,
without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend
together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brâhmaṇa may be in
close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities:
hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः &c
there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण,
प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम इत्येवमर्था ये तद्धितास्तदन्तान्युत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्त्तमानात्प-
द्यन्त्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

-155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नञ्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकारणवैष्टकिर्कं मुख्यम् = न कारणं वैष्ट-
किर्कं (कर्णं वैष्टकाभ्यां संपादि) ॥ The affix is डञ् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—
अशौचार्कः = न शौचि कः (शौचमर्हति). The affix is डञ् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for
that' (V. 1. 5):—अवत्सीयः = न वत्सी यः ॥ The affix is छ V. 1. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable
to effect that' (V. 1. 101):—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is डञ् (V. 1. 18)
Why do we say 'after नञ्'? Observe गर्हभरयमर्हति = गर्हभराधिकः, विगर्हभराधिकः, where
the negative वि is used and therefore the ayyaya वि retains its accent by VI. 2.
2. Why do we say 'negation of that attribute'? Observe गर्हभराधिकादन्यः =
अगर्हभराधिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the
Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकारणवैष्टकिर्कं मुख्यम् =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि शुक्लम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c'? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः = अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां वादुर्महति = कन्यावोढा, न वोढा = अवोढा ॥ Here नृच् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यन् इत्येतौ यौ तद्धितावतदर्थे वर्तते तदन्तस्योत्तरपदस्य नमो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयादन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः = पाश्याः, न पाश्याः = अपाश्याः, So also अतृष्यः (IV. 2. 49); एन्तेषु भवे = एन्त्यम्, न एन्त्यम् = अएन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadārtha:—not useful for that'. Observe पार्श्वशुक्लम् = पाश्व्यम्, न पाश्व्यम् = अपाश्व्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अवेद्यम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise एन्त्यादन्त्यत् = अदन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as उप &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यम् = अैवामदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्कावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायामुत्तरपदं नञः परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्, has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपचः = य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अजयः, अपठः, अविक्षिपः, अत्रिलिखः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो दीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A दीक्षित and a परिव्राजक do not cook their food, not because they are physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of their particular order they are prohibited from cooking.

आक्रोशे च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे च गम्यमानं नञ् उत्तरमच्कान्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोऽयं जाल्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so'. Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook: and not his incapacity. So also अपठोऽयं जाल्मः, so also अविक्षिपः, अत्रिलिखः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञः परमुत्तरपदं संज्ञायां तच्चेमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नञ्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तैः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अवज्ञावर्त्तैः, अविष्णुमित्रैः ॥

कृत्योकेष्णुच्चावादीयश्च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक्त, इष्णुच्, चावादीयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक्त इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताच्चावादीयश्च नञ् उत्तरेणोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक्त, and इष्णुच्, and the words चारु &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kṛitya:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उक्तः—अनाभाषुर्कम्, अनपलाषुर्कम् ॥ इष्णुच्—अनलंकारिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes लिष्णुच् also: अनाक्यभाविष्णुः, असु-भगभाविष्णुः ॥ चारु &c.—अचारुः, असाधुः, अयौधिकः, अवशान्यः, अननङ्गमेजयैः (double nega- tion). अनकस्मात् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीयमाण, रोचमान, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारैः, असदृशैः and अविकारसदृशैः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकैः ॥ अराजा and अनर्हः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1 चारु. 2 साधु. 3 यौधकी (यौधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय, 5 वशान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमा-
नस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रोयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृशं व्यस्ते
समस्ते (अविकार, असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाहोच्छ्वसि.

विभाषा तृष्णप्रतीक्षणशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृन्त अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नञ् उत्तरेषु विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix तृन्, and the words अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अनृत्ता or अर्कृता ; अन्न &c—अनन्नम् or अन्नत्रयम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अतीक्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्सङ्गः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, इदम्, एतत्, तद्वयः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समाप्ते इदम् एतत् तद्वयैभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने
वर्त्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतद् and तद्, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इदं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा = स इदमप्रथमैः 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इदं द्वितीयैः, इदं तृतीयैः, एतत्प्रथमैः, एतद्द्वितीयैः, एतत्तृतीयैः तत्प्रथमैः, तद्द्वितीयैः तत्तृतीयैः ॥ Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrihi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः = इदं प्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe यत्प्रथमः = यः प्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals?' Observe तानि बहुन्यस्य = तद्बहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = त इदं प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रथमाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is 'not a numeral. When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् ॥ As इदं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrihi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दे बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrihi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौः ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe दर्शनायस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दे विभाषा ऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चैतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिने इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋषिप्रतिषेधो मित्रं ॥

165. In a Bahuvrihi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रैः, ब्रह्ममित्रैः, वृकाजिनैः, कूटाजिनैः, कृष्णाजिनैः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रैः, महाजिनः ॥

Var:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106 ॥

व्यवायिनो ऽन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवायान्ता । तद्व्यायिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus वस्त्रान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पदान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्यास्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुत्तरपदं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गौरमुखं, भद्रमुखं ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe दीर्घमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय, दिक्शब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे नान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—उच्चैर्मुखः, नीचैर्मुखः ॥ The words उच्चैः and नीचैः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्राङ्मुखः, प्रत्यङ्मुखः ॥ The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्यङ् is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c.—गोमुखः, महोमुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः, पृथुमुखः and वत्समुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrīhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

169. In a Bahuvrīhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुख्यैः or प्रक्षालितमुख्यः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:—सिंहमुखैः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखैः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात् क्तोऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, क्तः, अकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश्च परं क्तान्तं कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्दर्शयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्दोशच भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क्त has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrīhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजर्भः, पलाण्डुभक्षितैः, सुरपीतः ॥ कालः—मासजातैः, संवत्सरजातैः, द्यहजातैः, त्र्यहजातैः ॥ सुख &c.—सुखजातैः दुःखजातैः, वृषजातैः ॥ Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word"? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वैस्वच्छत्रः, वैसनच्छत्रः from the root वस् with the affixes घ्नृ and ल्युट् respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डमितः, कुण्डप्रतिपन्नः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sūtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृष (वृष तोत्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 अस्त्र, 6 आस्त्र*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 साढ, 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपदे वा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrīhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus वृन्तजातैः or वृन्तजातः, स्तनजातैः or स्तनजातः, मासजातैः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातैः or संवत्सरजातः, सुखजातैः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातैः or दुःखजातः &c. The words वृन्त and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिष्ठवत्सरति, शन्थान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वत्स, ति, शन् and थ are finally acute", as बहिष्ठैः, संवत्सरैः, सप्ततिः, विशन्, गृथैर्म ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परमुत्तरपदं बहुव्रीहौ समासन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नञ् or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयवो^१ देशः, अत्रीहि^२, अमार्षः^३, सुयवः^४, सुत्रीहि^५, सुमार्षः^६ ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samāsānta affixes. Thus अनृचः (formed by the samāsānta affix अ V. 4. 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपद are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samāsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sūtra. For had the present sūtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपद) preceded by मञ् and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीक: even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words अनृचः and बहुचः ॥ There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāsānta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासान्तः समासस्यैवावयवो नेत्तरपदस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नञ् or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारीकोदेशः, अवृषलीकः, अब्रह्मबन्धूकः, सुकुमारीकः, सुवृषलीकः, सुब्रह्मबन्धूकः ॥

ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वोऽन्तो यस्य तद्विहं ह्रस्वान्तमुत्तरपदं समासो वा, तत्रान्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नञ् and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयवकोदेशः, अत्रीहिकः, अमार्षकः, सुयवकः, सुत्रीहिकः, सुमार्षकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कप् takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कप् ॥ This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कप्). Therefore, in अर्त्तकः and सुर्त्तकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyāt-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुत्वे यो बहुशब्दो वर्त्तते तस्मान्नञइव स्वरो भवति । नञ्मुभ्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि त्रया भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrīhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrīhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrīhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुयवो देशः, बहुव्रीहिः, बहु-तिरैः the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुमोषकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैः, बहुमैः, बहुमित्रैः, बहुवैतः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multiety of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः) वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयववाचिनोबहोरुत्तरं बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrīhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बहुक्षरं पदम्, बहुच्छन्दोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. 1). गुणादि is an Akrtigaṇa. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient"? As बहुगुणोद्भासणः = अध्ययनभूतसदाचारादयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपश्यु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपश्यु, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पश्युर्वाजितमन्तोदात्तं भवति, बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पश्यु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठः, प्रोर्द्धः, प्रलार्द्धः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयललाटः ॥ Why 'do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्गाहुः क्रोशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्गाहुः is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पशुः? Observe ईस्पशुः, विपशुः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनामस्येत्तदुत्तरपदस्यसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवर्णे यष्टव्यम्, निर्वर्णे प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrīhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्शब्दादुत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वर्णे देशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्शब्दश्चात्तरपदस्यसर्गादन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्राप्ति compound.

न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरान्तश्शब्दो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181. The word अन्तर has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus व्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेरमितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, अमितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरममितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं चान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

182. After परि, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मण्डल, has acute on the final.

Thus परिकूलम्, परित्तिरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or प्राप्ति compound or an Avyayibhāva. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded;

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावाऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभाविन् 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्, अस्वाङ्गम्, संज्ञायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादुत्तरपक्षमस्वाङ्गवाचि संज्ञायां विषयेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रकोष्ठम्, प्रगृह्यम्, प्रहारम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रहस्तम्, प्रपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीठम् ॥

निरुदकादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुदकादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निरुदकादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुदक &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निरुदकम्, निरुपम्, निरुपलम् &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुप 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मक्षक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निराजिन, 12 उदजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेष्टपादकेशकर्षा भाकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayī bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कालन्तः कालकान्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root तृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Up III. 158) तरीम्. पाति = तरीपः; कुत्सित स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पाद, कश and कर्ष have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपादः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेदन्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samāsa. If it is an Avyayī-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखो शाला ॥

अपाच्च ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपाद्योत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

186. The word **मुख** has acute on the final, after the preposition **अप्** ॥

Thus **अपमुखम्**, **अपमुखः** ॥ The compound is in one case *Avyayibhāva* also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. • The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the *anuvritti* of **अप** only goes.

स्फिगपूतवीणाओध्वकुक्षिसीरिनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीण, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीर नाम, नाम, च,
वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् उध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरज्ञानि सीरनामानि नामशब्दभाषादुत्तराण्यन्तो-
शासानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words **स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, उध्वम्, कुक्षि, नामन्** and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by **अप** ॥

Thus **अपस्फिगम्, अपपूतम्, अपवीणम्, अपाञ्जः, अपाध्वम्** (This ordains acute on the final where the compound *apādhwā* does not take the *samāsanta* affix **अच्** by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because **अच्** is a *स्थित्* affix.) This further shows that the *samāsanta* affixes are not compulsory. (**अनित्यञ्च समासान्तः**), **अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरः, अपहलः, अपलाङ्गलम्, अपनामम् ॥** These are *प्रादि* compounds or *Bahuvrīhi* or *Avyayibhavas*. Some of these viz. **स्फिग, पूत** and **कुक्षिः** will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a *Bahuvrīhi*. Here the compound must not be a *Bahuvrīhi*, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After **अधि**, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus **अधिदन्तः = दन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योदन्तो जायते** 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. **अधिकर्णः, अधिकर्षः ॥** These are *प्रादि samāsa* or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe **अधिकर्णम्** Here the acute is on **क**, the *krit*-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अप्रधान, कनीयसी, (अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरमप्रधानवाचि कनीयसान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After **अनु**, a word which is not the Principal, as well as **कनीयस्** has acute on the final.

The word **अप्रधान** means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus **अनुगतो ज्येष्ठम् = अनुज्येष्ठः, अनुमध्यमः ॥** These are *प्रादि samāsa*

In which the first member is the principal or Pradhāna. अनुगतः कनीयाम् = अनुकनीयम्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयम् is taken as प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhāna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sūtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say “अप्रधान” ? Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = अनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दोऽन्वादिष्टवाची चानोरुत्तरोन्ताशक्तो भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुष, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means ‘of a secondary importance, inferior’, or ‘mentioned again after having already been mentioned’. Thus अन्वादिष्टः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृत्यपदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृत्यपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृत्यन्तं पदशब्दश्चान्तोऽशक्तो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेश्चातुलोपहति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix, and the word पद, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अत्यङ्कुशो नागः, अतिकुशोऽश्वः, अतिपर्शश्चक्री ॥ Why do we say ‘non-kṛit-word and पद’ ? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Vart :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कम् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनो गार्ग्यः = अतिगार्ग्यः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरपदमन्तोऽशक्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of ‘not laying down’.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता ‘not making manifest’. Thus निमूर्णम्, न्यर्णम्, निनृणम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrihi or prādisamāsa. In the case of their being Avyayibhāva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223. Why do we say when meaning ‘not laying down’ ? Observe निषाक् = निहितवाक् as निषाग्वृषलः ; निषण्डः = निहितण्डः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वाद्यः, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोऽशक्ता भवन्ति ।

193. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिराजौ ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samāsanta affix दृश् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of दृश् which is a चित् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उष्ट्र, 5 खेटक (रोटक), 6 अजिर, 7 भार्गो, 8 भवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 भार्य, 11 पुर (आर्धपुर आर्धपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगशुः (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उष्ट्र by adding ष् to उष् 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिट् + ण्यल् = खेटक; अजिर is formed by किरिष् (Uṇ I. 53) आ + ब्रा + भट् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = भार्गो ॥ भृ + ल्युट् = भवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) कध् + भष् (III. 1. 134) = भार्य; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता भंशोऽस्य = प्रत्यंशुरयमुष्ट्रः ॥

उपाद् द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाद्, द्व्यच् अजिनम्, अगौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्व्यजजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवन्ति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो हवः = उपर्हवः, उपन्त्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपशोडैः, उपाजिनैश्च ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनयः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 युध (युध) 10 कल्प, 11 पाठ

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परपुरुषत्वं तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्तं भवात् अवक्षेपणे गम्यमाने ॥

195. After सु, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of सु which denotes praise.

Thus इह खल्विदानीं, सुहृदि सुस्मिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितैः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु = सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुच्छशब्दे तत्पुरुषे विभाषा अन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उत्क्रान्तः पुच्छान् = उत्पुच्छः or उत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छमुत्स्यति = उत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpuruṣa : as, उदस्त्वं पुच्छमस्य = उत्पुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धं सु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पाद्, दत्, मूर्धं सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेषु पाद इत् मूर्धन् इत्येतेषु भरपदेषु यो बहुव्रीहिस्तत्र विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पादवस्य = द्वौर्पाद् or द्वौर्पाद्, त्रिर्पाद् or त्रिर्पाद्, द्वौर्दन् or द्वौर्दन्, त्रिर्दन् or त्रिर्दन्, द्वौर्मूर्धं or द्वौर्मूर्धं ॥ The word पाद् is पाद् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) इत् is the substitute of इन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्यी is here the Bahuvrīhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्धः, त्रिमूर्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि? Observe कर्त्त्योर्मूर्धं here the first member is middle acute by Phi 11. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrīhi'? Observe दशोर्मूर्धं = द्विमूर्धं ॥

सकथं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सकथम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकथमिति कृतसमासान्तः सकथिशब्दोऽत्र गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोऽशक्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सकथ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क् ॥

The word सकथ is the samāsanta form of सकथि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसकथः or गौरसकथः, श्लक्ष्णसकथः or श्लक्ष्णसकथः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by क्त्स्न (Up III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्'? Observe चक्रसकथः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by षच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिस्ततो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तिश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादियश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे विचक्रादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृक्षादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे द्विवोदादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सकृथ, as well as to any other word in general. Thus भञ्जिचसकृथमालभेत, 'but लोमशसकृथः so also बहुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः ॥ In the non-Vedic literature these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be : "In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules".

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*—In the Veda, विचक्र &c have acute on the final of the second term. As विचक्रेण, विबन्धुरेण, विवृत्तारथेन, ॥ गियेन सुष्टिहृत्यया ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika* :—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विश्वायुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika* :—In the Veda, the words विवोदास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As विवोदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

आमृ ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगिति च उत्तरपदे इति च एतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यस्मिन् उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽलुगुत्तरपदे-
त्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase “the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound”.

The words अलुक् ‘there is no elision’, and उत्तरपदे “before the second member” are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly ; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI.4. 1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says “the affixes of the Ablative after ‘stoka’ &c”. The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. “the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound”. Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पावमुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member”? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकपूर्वार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकादीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे ऽलुभवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक् &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पावमुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अभ्याशाशगतः, पूराशगतः, विप्रकृष्टा-
शगतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prātipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prātipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक् &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोत्रान्मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोत्राभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vart :—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणाश्चायं शंसन्ति = ब्राह्मणा-च्छसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

- ओजः सहोम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तम-
सः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो अनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vart —अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vart :—The compounds पुंसानुजः and अनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ अनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = अनुषान्धः ॥ The word अनु is another name of जन्मन् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस्, when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसादत्ता, मनसागुप्ता, मनसासंगृता ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोगुप्ता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञातुं शीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः पूरणप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आत्मनापञ्चमः, आत्मनाषष्ठः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vārt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पञ्चमः = आत्मनापञ्चमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ्य in जनार्दनस्वात्मचतुर्थ्य एव? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थ्योऽस्य ॥ The word पूरणे is a later addition of the Vārtikakāra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयाकरणस्याख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । यया संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्या-
मात्मन उत्तरस्याश्चतुर्थ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥, The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य च या चतुर्थी तस्या वैयाकरणाख्यायामलुग्भवति ॥

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम्, परस्मभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, सप्तम्याः, संज्ञा-
याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताददन्ताद्योत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हदृशुभ्यां डः ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus गुग्गुलिष्ठिरः, स्वचिसारः, गङ्गिष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविगुग्गुभ्यां स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्यभाषकाः, वनेक्रिशुकाः, वनेहरिष्ठाकाः, वनेबल्लजकाः, पूर्वाहणे-
स्फोटकाः, कूपेपिशङ्गकाः ॥ Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or अ”? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe अक्षशाण्डः ॥

Vārt :—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and दिव्; as : हृदिसृक्, दिविसृक् ॥

कारनास्त्रि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनास्त्रि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम तत्र हलाशुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या ऽलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूषेक्षणः, हषदिमाषकः, हलेद्विपदिका, हलेत्रिपदिका ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the 'name of a tax.'? Observe अभ्यर्हितपशुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe 'ग्रथपशुः = ग्रथपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे वरणः = अविकटोरणः ॥ So also नद्यां रोहनी = नदीरोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्याद्गुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या गुरादुत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्यगुरुः ॥

Vart.:—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तगुरुः ॥

अमूर्द्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्द्ध, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धमस्तकवर्जितास्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अकामउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कामोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा, उदरेमणिः ॥ But मूर्धेशिखः, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलिप्राणः, अङ्घ्रादलिः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति यत्रन्तो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्दुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तबन्धः, चक्रेबन्धः or चक्रेबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is घञ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As गुप्तिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत् पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृदन्तउत्तरपदे सप्तम्या बहुलमलुग्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्बरमः, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मद्रचरः ॥

प्रावृट्शरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृट् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां ज उत्तरपदे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल and दिव् when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृजः, शरजः, कालजः, दिवजः ॥ This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या ज उत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः, शरेजः or शरजः, वरेजः or वरजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घसंज्ञके प्रत्यये कालशब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तर and तम are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाह्णतरे or पूर्वाह्णतरे, पूर्वाह्णतमे or पूर्वाह्णतमे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाह्णकाले or पूर्वाह्णकाले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाह्णतने or पूर्वाह्णतने ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुक्रतरे, शुक्रतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरयाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तद्वि स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word य, अय &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपङ्क्ति goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim : उत्तरपङ्क्तिर् प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्त ग्रहणम् ; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares “ हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes यन्, अण्, and लास follow”. Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषूत्तरपङ्क्तिष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खशयः, ग्रामवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वार्द्धशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vārt :—The Locative case-affix is retained after अण् when योनि, or the affix यन् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सुयः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यन् is added by treating अण् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धवधातिषु च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ न, इम्, सिद्ध, वधातिषु, च, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्ते सिद्धशब्दं वधातो च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from वन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन्, सांक्राश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चरकबन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule: बन्ध then is derived by अच् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपङ्क्ति भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्थः, कूटस्थः, पर्वतस्थः ॥ But आखरेष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोऽखरेष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् विकृपद्यङ्गो युक्तिरण्डहरेषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आमुष्यायणामुष्यपुत्रिकामुष्यकुलिकेति चालुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गुलेषु शुनः भसंज्ञायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ दिवश्च रासे षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus चौरस्यकुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant? Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vart:—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिग् before ण्ड, and after पद्यन् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोण्डः, पद्यतोहरः ॥

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुष्यायणः, आमुष्यपुत्रिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ आमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes क् in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायणः, अमुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आमुष्यपुत्रिका formed by वुञ् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥ The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devânâm-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahâbhâshya or the Kâsikâ. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool'. The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshit through Brahmanical spite.

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेष, पुच्छ and लाङ्गुल follow it:—शुनः शेषः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोलाङ्गुलः ॥

Vart:—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिग् when रास follows: as दिवोरासः ॥

पुत्रे अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दोत्तरपदे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने अन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus रास्याः पुत्रः or रासपुत्रः, वृषल्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिस्सम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यश्चोत्तरस्याः षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in ऋ"? Observe आचार्यपुत्रः, मातुलपुत्रः ॥ The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore, the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृगृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपक्षयोर्ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्याद्योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःस्वसा or मानस्वसा. पितुःस्वसा or पितुःस्वसा or पितृस्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्तुः पतिः or ननान्तृपतिः ॥

आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्, ऋतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां विद्याद्योनिसम्बन्धवाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्थानङादेशो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोक्षातारौ, प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्त्तारौ मातापितरौ, याताननान्त्यौ ॥ The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्र is understood here, so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though it does not end in ऋ. As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्थानङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devtās.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासोमौ, इन्द्रावृहस्पती, निषावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापति, शिववैश्वणौ ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वायवग्नी ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरुणयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येतयोर्देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्ने रीकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva:

Thus अग्नीषोमी, अग्नीवरुणौ ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 82.

इहृद्धौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृद्धौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृद्धावुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्नेरीकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इहृद्धौ विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

28. The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vriddhi.

Thus अग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule: आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI. 3. 26. Thus अग्निवारुणी-मनङ्गाहीमालभेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ आग्नीमरुतो देवताद्वय (IV. 2. 24), takes the Tad-dhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vriddhi. When both members do not take Vriddhi, the rule does not apply: as आग्नेन्द्रः (आग्न इन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vriddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows: as आग्नावैष्णवं चरं निर्वपेत् ॥

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विविधेतस्य द्यावा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

29. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatās.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, द्यावाभूमी ॥

दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्यावुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे दिवो द्विसत्ययमादेशो भवति चकाराद् द्यावा च ॥

30. For दिव् is also substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यो, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the *an-
tithesis* as दिवस् ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or a visarga or upadhmaṇiya when followed by पृथिवी ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. आवा चित्सै पृथिवी नमेते ॥

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूयम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितराबुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितराबित्युदीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारङ्गादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरङ् substitution of the क् of मातृ ॥ The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

पितरामातरा च छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातरा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding अङ् to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39 : and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरा-मातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनुङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥

पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्बत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनुङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी, प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनुङ् : स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्येव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रिया-दिवर्जिते ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ्, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral. nor प्रिय &c.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्द्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम्) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनुङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus दर्शनीयभार्यः (=दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य). Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix भा; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also दक्षिणचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe भामणि ब्राह्मणकुले दृष्टिरस्य = भामणिर्दृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe खट्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खट्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायामाकृतौ"? Observe द्वोणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वोण has not the same significance as द्वोणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe बह्वचनभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यमाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi". Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इम) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमारात्रयः, so also, कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पञ्चः ॥ The samāsānta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिलादिप्राकृत्यसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पद्मानि ॥ तंसिलादिषु, आकृत्यसुचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यतः प्रवृत्ति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तगणने कृत्वमुजिति प्रागेनस्माद् ये प्रत्ययास्तेषु भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वाञ्छिकम् ॥ शसि बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ त्वत्तल्लोर्गुणवचनस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ भस्याढ तद्धिते पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ङकृल्लसोश्च पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

35. A feminine word not ending in the affix and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिन् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with क्त्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः शालायाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, यस्यां = यत्र, यस्या = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरद्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, देह्य, देशीयर् रूपप्, पाशप्, थम्, थाल, श and हिल् तिल तातिल ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c दर्शनीयतरा, दर्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, दर्शनीयकल्पा, दर्शनीयदेशीया, दर्शनीयरूपा, दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ कथा प्रकृत्या = कथम्, यथा प्रकृत्या = यथा, तस्यां वेलाया = तदा, तर्हि &c.

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्—as बहुभ्यो देहि = बहुशो देहि; अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes त्व and तल् ॥ As पट्वया भावः = पटुत्वम् or पटुता ॥ Why do we say ‘an adjective’? Observe कथ्या भावः = कण्ठीत्वं or कठीता ॥

Vart: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of म ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being sthânavat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say ‘with the exception of ढ’? Observe इयैनेयः, रोहिनेयः the masculine being इयेत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ङक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या गृह्णात्रा = भावत्काः, भवद्गीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङ् परो मानिनि च स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्काद्वङ् पुंवद्भवति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, इयनी—इयेतायते ॥ मानिन्—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः “He esteems her as handsome”. दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः “She esteems her as handsome”. The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—दर्शनीयां, मन्यते देवदत्ता यत्तदत्ता =

दर्शनीयमानी॥अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्थते देवदत्तां यज्ञ-
दत्ता=दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे बु तद्धितग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥
वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकाया धर्म्यं). This rule is an ex-
ception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vart :—The rule applies to the क of the affix बु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः, भेकभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means “young”; and भेकी means ‘action’.

संज्ञापूरण्योश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा. पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्यश्च स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । दत्तापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । दत्तायते । गुप्तायते । दत्तामानिनी ।
गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । दशमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । दशमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । दशमीयते ।
पञ्चमीमानिनी । दशमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च,
तद्धितस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्धितः स यद्दि रक्त्ये विकारे च न विहितः, तदन्तस्य स्त्रीशब्दस्य न पुंवद्भवति ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored thereby’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus सौम्रीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, सौम्रीपाशा, माथुरीपाशा, सौम्रीयते, माथुरीयते, सौम्रीमानिनी
and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say ‘which causes Vṛiddhi’? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा
=मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vṛiddhi). Why
do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डत्वावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति=काण्डलावी with
अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and डीप्). Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored there
with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता=काषायी, काषायीवृद्धितका-
काषायवृद्धितकः, लोहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईषा ग्र्यय रथस्य=लोहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word
वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatparusha, i. e. a
taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or स् or क् &c which causes

Vridhhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावज्ञार्यः यावज्ञार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vridhhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाच्चेतोऽमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो य ईकारस्तदन्तायाः स्त्रिया न पुंवङ्गवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus दीर्घकेशीभार्यः, शुक्रकेशीभार्यः, दीर्घकेशीपाशा, श्लक्ष्णकेशीपाशा, दीर्घकेशीयते, श्लक्ष्णकेशीयते, but पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), अंकशभार्यः (अंकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and दीर्घकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra.

जातेश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश्च स्त्रिया न पुंवङ्गवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कटीभार्यः, बहुवृत्तीभार्यः कटीपाशा, बहुवृत्तीपाशा, कटीयते, बहुवृत्तीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कटमानिनी, बहुवृत्तमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हांस्तनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंवत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादन्तनङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवङ्गवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु पुंवङ्गावा वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुंस्क). So the rule does not apply खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मवन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vārt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कक्कुट्या अण्ड = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याःपदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याःश्रीरं = मृगश्रीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काक-

सायः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vart :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicative स्, or the affixes त्र and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम् = कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या. पद्धितरा. पद्धितमा. पद्धिरूपा. पद्धिकल्पा. पद्धिका. मृद्धिका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविद्, ररद्, पृथ and उशिज are names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The tadrāja affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compound of इडविद् वृन्सारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, शरद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्सारिका. ओशिजवृन्सारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलडब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ड्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, ड्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् ब्रुव, गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुस्कात्परो या डीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes त्र, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल (with the feminine in ई), ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix डी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा. ब्राह्मणितमा ब्राह्मणिरूपा. ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा ब्राह्मणगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; ब्रुवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to ब्रू, गुण and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (डी) ? Observe इत्तातरा, गुप्तातरा ॥ Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable ? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine ? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य घादिषु परतो ह्रस्वो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अडा च या नदी डघन्त च यवेकाच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्रद्याः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadi (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (डी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबन्धूतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा or स्त्रीतरा, स्त्रितमा or स्त्रीतमा ॥

Vart. — Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नद्या घादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicative उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the च &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus श्रयसितरा or श्रयसीतरा, or श्रयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विदुस्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculinisation also when we get the forms श्रयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from श्रयसु, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महात्वे चासकरादीशिट्पसंख्यानं पुंवद्वचनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते ऽष्टन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महादेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातीयः ॥ But महत्: पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महन् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhi-karana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतभ्रन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महन् is here secondary.

Vart. — आ is substituted for the final of महन् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart. — आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vart :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टागं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The न् in आन् is for the sake of distinctness.

इयष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारदेशो भवति संख्यायापुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शतादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टम् when another Numeral follows, but 'not in a Bahuvrihi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वाइशः, द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशन्, अष्टाईशः, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशन् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टम्? Observe पञ्चइशः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वे मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrihi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्वित्राः, त्रिश्राः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart :—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य त्रयमित्यमवेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrihi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोइशः, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशन् ॥ But not in त्रैमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिवृक्षाः which is a Bahuvrihi, (II. 2. 25) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायापुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां द्व्यष्टन् त्रि इत्येतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशन् or द्वाचत्वारिंशन्, त्रिपञ्चाशन् or त्रयःपञ्चाशन्, अष्टपञ्चाशन् or अष्टापञ्चाशन् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, विशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृल्लेख्यदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृदित्यमवेशो भवति लेख यम् अण् लास इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखाति = हृदयः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदयम्, हृदयस्यैवम् = हार्वम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृदयासः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकप्यङ्गो रोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, प्यङ्, रोगेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ‘शोक प्यङ् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix प्यङ् follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दम् or सौहृदयम् ॥ Here प्यङ् is added as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII. 3. 19. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदय-रोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पत्, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पत् इत्ययमादेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by ङण् from अज् and अत् (Up IV. 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to जी though required by II. 4. 56 ; before this affix. So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पदोत्तोपहतः ॥ पाद belongs to Vṛishādi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपदेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदोपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पदाजिः, पदातिः and पदगः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्यत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पञ्जादे इके चरतावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to.;

Thus पार्श्वविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाद्यम् = पदार्थेषुक्तं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart.—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद; as पाशभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10) by घञ् affix. The word पाद in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यन् of V. I. 34, as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिरे हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्भिन्म, (= पादस्य शीतं) पद्काषिन् (= पादचारिणः) as in अथ पद्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्भतिः (पशभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संबन्धिनः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री शंसति = पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्पापणं दशति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निष्कं चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पद्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart.—So also before निष्कः as पद्भिष्कः or पादभिष्कः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विषये उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदे परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha', उदवाहः "a person named Uda-vāhah." The well-known Patronymics from these are उदमेघिः and उदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart.—उद is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहिनादः, नीलोदः, क्षीरोदः ॥

पेषवासवाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पेषं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद is substituted for उदक before पेषं, वास, वाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उक्पेण पिनष्टि formed by णष्टु by III. 4. 38; उक्वासः=उक्कस्थवासः, so also उक्वाहनः ॥ उक्कं धीयंतस्मिन्=उक्धिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये अन्यतरस्याम् ॥५९॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल् आरिष्यस्योत्तरपदस्य तदेकहलादिस्तस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्यामुक्कस्य उक् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उक् is optionally substituted for उक्क, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उक्कुम्भः, or उक्ककुम्भः, उक्पात्रम्, or उक्कपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उक्कस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उक्कपर्वतः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्यौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ मन्य, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्य ओदन सक्तु बिन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषूक्कस्य उक् इत्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उक् is optionally substituted for उक्क, before मन्य, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उक्केन मन्यः=उक्कमन्यः or उक्कमन्यः । उक्केनोदनः, उक्कोदनः or उक्कोदनः । सक्तु । उक्केन सक्तुः, उक्कसक्तु or उक्कसक्तुः । बिन्दु । उक्कस्थ बिन्दुः, उक्कबिन्दुः or उक्कबिन्दुः । वज्र । उक्कस्य वज्रः, उक्कवज्रः or उक्कवज्रः । भार । उक्कं विभतीति उक्भारः or उक्कभारः । हार । उक्कं हरतीति, उक्हारः or उक्कहारः । वीवध । उक्कस्य वीवध, उक्वीवधः or उक्कवीवधः । गाह । उक्कं गाहत इति, उक्गाहः or उक्कगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य ॥६१॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्यः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्योत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याचायस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ब्रूकुंसादीनामकृत्वा भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus ग्रामणिपुत्रः or ग्रामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्वापात्रः, मालापात्रः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वासीपुत्रः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned puṣṭārtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपाति &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vart.—It does not apply to Aavyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुड्डीभूतम्, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart.—It does however apply to भुकुंस &c, as भुकुंसः, भुकुदिः ॥ Others say भ is substituted for भ्र &c as भ्रकुंसः and भ्रकुदिः

एक तद्धिते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्धिते, च, (ह्रस्वः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्धिते उत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूप्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्या भावः = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुग्धम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

उद्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्यापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्यन्तस्याबन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (डी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीवोषः, नान्दीविशालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिदारा, प्रवर्दिदा; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as कात्युनीवीर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णमृदा पृथिवी विश्वं धायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रत्यये परतो उद्यापोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वं or अजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूल भारिषु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु यथासंख्य इहसो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in
इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिषु ॥

Thus इष्टकचित्तम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचित्तम्, मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खित्तन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनव्ययस्य इहसो भवति ॥

66. A short is always substituted for the final of the first member, when the second member is a word formed by an affix having an indicatory ख, but not when the first member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥ The augment मुम् does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But शेषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where शेषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खित्तन्तः, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारि प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्नेष्यते ॥ For an Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhātus.

अरुद्विषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतयोरजन्तानां च खित्तन्तउत्तरपदे सुमागमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. मुम् is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of अरुस्, द्विषत्, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a खित् affix follows.

Thus अरुन्तुर्दः, द्विषन्तर्दः, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of अरुस् and the त् of द्विषत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस् &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say 'not an Indeclinable'? Observe शेषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use the word अजन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अचः would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sūtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम् debar the shortening. So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच एकाचोम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचः, एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खित्तन्तउत्तरपदे सुमागमो भवति अम्प्रत्ययवच्च द्वितीयैकवचनवच्च स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a खित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच्च एकाचोऽम्, अम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ Thus गामन्यः, स्त्रीमन्यः, or स्त्रियमन्यः, श्रियमन्यः, भुवमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अम्प्रत्ययवत्, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् As आ—गामन्यः (VI. 1. 93); पूर्वसवर्ण as स्त्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—नरमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as श्रियमन्यः, भुवमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्च)? Observe स्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखाभुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As श्रियमात्मानं मन्यते बाह्मणकुलं = श्रियमन्यम् or श्रिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंदर इत्येतां निपात्यते ॥

69. वाचंयम and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of यम and दार takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारशब्दोत्तरपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्धुमागमो भवति ॥
 वासिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्दासि कारे मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ धेनोर्भव्यायां मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पृणे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ इत्येऽनभ्याशस्य मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ आप्राग्योरिन्धे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥
 वा० ॥ गिलेऽगिलस्य मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले च्यात वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वा० ॥ उष्णभद्रयोः करणे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ सुतोधराजभोजमवित्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य दुहित्शब्दस्य पुस्त्वडादेशो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकारः = सत्यकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदकारः ॥

Vart:—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुकारः ॥

Vart:—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भुक्षकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vart:—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुभव्या ॥

Vart:—Of लोक before पृण, e. g. लोकपृणा ॥

Vart:—Of अनभ्यास before इत्थ as अनभ्यासमित्यः ॥

Vart:—Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः ॥

Vart:—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल
e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रं करणं ॥

Vart:—पुञ्ज् is optionally the substitute of दुहितृ when the words सूत, उम, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुञ्ची or सूतदुहिता, उमपुञ्ची or उमदुहिता, राजपुञ्ची or राजदुहिता, भोजपुञ्ची or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुञ्ची or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुञ्च in the Śāraṅgaravādi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुञ्ची ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुञ्ची ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते जे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य. पाते, जे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलइयेतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे प्रत्यये समागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ज् is added.

Thus इयेनपातास्थ्यां क्रीडायां = इयेनपाता, तैलपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before ज्? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृदन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा समागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमदः or रात्र्यदः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. The augment is compulsory before a kṛt-affix having an indicative ख, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः, अवृषलः, असुगपः, असोमपः ॥

Vart:—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जाल्मः, अकरोषि त्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माल्लुप्तनकारात्तञः नुडागमो भवति अजादावुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुद्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनजः, अनश्वः, अनुष्टुः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् “after such a नञ्”? Otherwise नुद् would have been the augment of नञ्, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sūtra would have read thus नुडाचि ॥' Adding नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न् of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

नभ्राणनपान्नवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र,
नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राद् नपात् नवेशः नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसकं नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नञ्
प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in
नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र,
नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the
sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative ! नभ्राजते = नभ्राद्, formed by क्तिप्
and नञ् composition. न पाति = नपात् formed by क्त्वा affix. न वाचि = नवेश, formed
by अघुन् ॥ सत्सु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः ॥ न मुञ्चति = न
मुचि, formed by कि affix (Uṇadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥
न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix. न
अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति एकशब्दस्यादुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in
a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the
augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विशतिः = एकान्नविशतिः, एकान्नविशन् ॥ These are Instrumental
compounds. The augment आदुक् is added to the final of the first member,
so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विशतिः and एवान् न विशति by VIII.
4. 45.

नगो अप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained
unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate
being.

Thus नगाः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not
move'. The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साम्प्रत्यम्, सपलाशम्, सार्वज्ञम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुद्धा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The word सह has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between स acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सैषुवः, सैभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayibhāva, the samāsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सेष्टि, सपशुबन्धैम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते अधिके च वर्त्तमानस्य सहस्यस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

79. स is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of 'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work), or 'more'.

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also ससहृतेम् = (सहृतान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by ° अन्त-वचने (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सद्गोणखारी, समासः कार्पापणः सकाकिणीको मासः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपाख्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये अनुपाख्ये सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साम्निः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सपिशाचा बाला "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सराक्षसीका बाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासे ऽकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. स is the substitute of सह; in an Avyayībhāva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रं धेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्वाङ्गम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्यते । तद्वयवस्य सहस्यस्य वा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

82. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सच्छात्रः or सहच्छात्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुष्मा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहस्यस्यो भवति आशिषि विषये ऽगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हल ॥

Thus स्वस्ति स्वेदन्ताय सहपुत्राय, सहच्छात्राय, सहामात्याय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहहाय ॥ The phrase भगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sūtra, but has been added by the Kāśikā from a Vārtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्ध्वप्रभृत्युदर्केषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्ध्व, प्रभृति, उदर्केषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्ध्वन् प्रभृति उर्ध्वं इत्यितान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्ध्वन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुभाता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सयुध्यः, योनः सनुत्यः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, सच भवः = सगर्भः formed by यन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्ध्वा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस वचन बन्धु इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनाभा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवयाः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गम्यमाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ ब्रह्म means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sa-brahmchāri.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरं परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थे when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थ्यः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदरशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

हृद्दशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृक्, दश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृक् दश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वासिकम् ॥ दश चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ ९० ॥ दशोः कसप्रत्ययापि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before हृक्, दश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सहृक्, सहृदशः ॥ The affixes कम् and क्तिन् are added to हृक् under III. 2. 60. Vārt:—which give as the forms हृक् and हृदशः ॥ Vārt:—So also before दशः as सहृदशः ॥ दश is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika. The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

इदं किमोरीशकी ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, की, (हृद्दशवतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदं किम् इत्येतयोरीश की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशो भवतो हृद्दशवतुषु ॥

वासिकम् ॥ दश चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इद्म and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus इदृक्, ईदृशः and इयान्, कीदृक्, कीदृशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इयत् and का+इयन् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vārt :—So also before दृक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (दृग्दृशवत्तुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आकारादेशो भवति दृग्दृशवत्तुषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे भेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus तादृक्, तादृशः, तावान्, यादृक्, यादृशः, यावान् ॥

Vārt :—So also before दृक्ष, as तादृक्षः and यादृक्षः ॥

विष्वदेवयोश्च देरद्व्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, टेः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च देरद्वीत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चसौता वप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि स्त्रियां बहुलीमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च with the affix व follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वगञ्च, This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + क्तिन् = अञ्च + O = अञ्च् + तुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्च्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the क्तिन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वदि gives the above form. देवगङ्, तदङ्, यदङ् ॥ अद्रि and सद्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when ह् is changed into ष् the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमञ्चति, the feminine डीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vārt*. The अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्वा is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च् follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व् follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चने ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चनावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when अञ्च followed, but when अञ्चाना ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim भातुमहणे तन्नो विधिरित्यने is illustrated in अयस्कृते and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vart:—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in “विश्वाची च घृताची च” there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्नीची there is this substitution. कद्नीची is derived from किम् + अङ्च् = कद्नि + अङ्च् ॥ Then is added ङीप् and then like अश्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समित्येतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अङ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम्, before this अङ्च् when no affix (or व् affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्चौ, सम्यङ्चः ॥

तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यङ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । यदा ऽस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अङ्च् when no affix (or व् affix) follows, provided that the अ of अङ्च् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यङ्चौ, तिर्यङ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) “where अ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सध्निः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सध्निः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यस्य साध्निरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यङ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ।

95. सध्नि is the substitute of सह, before अङ्च् followed by no affix (or व् affix).

Thus सध्यङ्, सध्यङ्चौ, सध्यङ्चः; and सध्नीचः, सध्नीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्थयोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्थ इत्येतयोश्च उत्तरपदयोः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद and स्थ follow.

Thus सधमाशेषु अन्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा बृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अर्वागिन्द्र सधमाशे बहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाचन्ति रेवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्वचन्तरुपसर्गेभ्यो ऽप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्यामुपसर्गाच्चोत्तरस्याबित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्वे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्वननवर्णास्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By, I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम, द्वेषयजनम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोद्देशो ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशं, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारोद्देशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपा देशः, but अन्वीपम् (when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अपष्टुचतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपष्टी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपष्टीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशि स आशा आस्था आस्थित उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kārikā—दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।

षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेष्ट आशीरादिषु सप्तसु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यदाशीः, अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यवृत्तिः, अन्यः कारकः, अन्यस्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्वारागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental? Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक, and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अपष्टी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दोत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुर्गागमो भवति ॥

100. कु is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यार्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कस्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कस्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कवित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽजाश्वोत्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कञ्जावे प्रापुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कदम्बः, कदम्बः, कदम्बः, कदम्बम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कृष्णे राजा ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुत्राग्नयः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vart :—कत् is substituted before चय, as कचयः = कुत्सितालयः ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोरोत्तरपदयोः कोः कवित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्वयः, कद्वदः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दोत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कवादेशो भवति ॥

103. कत् is substituted for कु, when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कच्छुणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुत्सितानि तृणानि = कुत्तृणानि ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् अक्ष इत्येतयोरोत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथः and काक्षः ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. का is the substitution for कु, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As कामधुम्, कालवणम्, काम्बम् ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as कोष्णम् ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दोत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. In the sense of 'a little इषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as इषद् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कवञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्णशब्दउत्तरपदे कोः कवङिस्थिमार्देशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कवङ् are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण- follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

पथि चच्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कोः कव का इत्येतावद्देशौ भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कव for कु takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कवपथः, कापथः and कुपथः ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपादिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपादिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृषोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता इत्यन्ते च तानि यथोप-
दिष्टानि साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ विकृशब्देभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वादे उत्वं च लभावश्चात्तरपदस्येति प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ वषउत्वं वत्पदधातुत्तरपदादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ दुरोदाशानाशदभ्येष्टुत्वं वक्तव्यमुत्तरपददेशेष्टुत्वम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरा रोहसौ छन्दस्तुत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीवोपवसनादीनां च लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā—वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरो वर्णविकारनाशौ ।

धातोस्तर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपादिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्धानं यस्य = पृषोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वरिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहकः जीवनस्य मृतः = जीमूतः, here वन has been elided; शवानां शयनं = इमशानम्; here इम replaces शवः, and शान for शयन ॥ उर्जं खमस्य = उल्लखलम्; here उल्ल replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल- replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥ कुवन्तोऽस्यांसीदन्ति = वृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उद् in the locative, and कुव is replaced by वृ ॥ मद्यां रैति = मयूरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of रु is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And, so on with अश्वस्थ, कपिस्थ &c.

Vart:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart:—Before the Patronymic इम् affix, वाग्वाद् becomes वाङ्वाल् as, वाग्वाद् स्यापत्यं = वाङ्वालिः ॥

Vart:—The final of वच् is changed to उ before वत्, वश्, and धा (meaning

'location'); and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् वृन्ता अस्य = षोडश; so षोडश; षड्धा or षोढा कुरु ॥ 'The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of धासु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—षड् वधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

Vart.—The final of दुर् is changed to ड, before दाश, नाश, दम् and ध्वे and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन दाभ्यते, नाशयते, दभ्यते यः = वृडाशः, वृणाशः, वूडभः. In the last (दम्) there is elision of the nasal also. दुष्ट ध्यायति = वृश्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्या (ध्वे) preceded by the upapada दुः, by III. I. 136.

Vart.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर when the verb रुह follows in the Vedas: as एहित्व जायेस्वो रोहाव (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vart.—The final of पीवस्, पयस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वस-मानां, पयोपवसनानाम् ॥

संख्यात्रिसायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अहस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवपूर्वस्याहशब्दस्य स्थाने अहनित्यमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरहोर्भवः = ह्यहः, त्रयहः ॥ The Locative singular of these are ह्यह्नि or ह्यहनि. त्रयह्नि or त्रयहनि ॥ So also ह्यह्ने, त्रयह्ने ॥ With वि—व्यह्नि, व्यहनि or व्यह्ने; साय—सायाह्नि, सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकशशसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्नः = मध्यमहः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

द्वूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो ऽणः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वूलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकाररेफयोर्लोपो यस्मिन् स द्वूलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. "When ढ or र is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus लीढम्, मीढम्, उपगूढम् ॥ रलोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अग्निर् रथः = अग्नीरथः, इन्द्र रथः, पुनर् रक्तम् वासः, प्राता राजक्रयः ॥ For the elision of ढ see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र see VIII. 3. 14. But आवृढम्, the ढ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra अण् which is formed with the ण् of अ इ उ ण् ॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

— वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति द्वूलोपे ॥

112. When ढ or र are elided, there is the substitution of ओ for the अ or आ of the verbs सह् and वह् ॥

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम्, षोढा, षोढुम् and षोढव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ? Observe ऊढः, ऊढवान् ॥ Why do we say अवर्ण which includes long आ also? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वह is changed to आ by Vridhhi: as उर्वोढाम्, उर्वोढम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अवर्ण then coming after the त् of ओत्, it would have denoted only short अ (तार्क्ष्य परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढ्यै साढ्वां साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साढ्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्यै साढ्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढ्यै, साढ्वा and साढा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समस्तात्, साढ्वा शचृन् ॥ The latter is formed by स्या affix, the औ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative स्या is changed to षौ ॥ साढा is formed by नृच् affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोढ्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्ययमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an un-interrupted flow of speech".

Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns". Thus विद्महिस्वा सत्यति शूर गोनाम् The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विष्, हि, स्वा, सत्यति, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टापञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिनी रीर्षो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चमणि भिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रव स्वस्तिक इत्येतान्वजयित्वा ॥

115. Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark or the ears of cattle, but not when the words are विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus शवाकर्णः, द्विगुणकर्णः, त्रिगुणकर्णः, द्वाङ्गुलकर्णः, अङ्गुलकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark?

Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of वृष्ट &c'? Observe वृष्टकर्णः ॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, स्रवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृति, वृषि, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि, तनिषु, कौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृति वृषि व्यधि रुचि सहि तनि इत्येतेषु क्विप्रत्ययान्तपूरसरपदेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति संहितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, मीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vřt) प्रावृह्, उपावृह्, (with vřsh) ममावृत्, हृदयावृत्, श्वावृत्, (with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक्, (with ruch) कृतावृह्, (with sah) तृतीह् (with tañ). The nasal is elided after गम् before क्ति (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किंशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोस्तरपदयोरेयासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किंशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवात् संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्द्रकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलकागिरिः, अञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But असिपञ्चवनम् and कुण्डगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्द्रक, 4 पुरण (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किंशुलक (किंशुलक), 2 शाल्व (शाल्वक), 3 नड* 4 मञ्जन, 5 मञ्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कुक्कुट ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुस्ताहभ्रातृपितृणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आसुतीवलः, कृषीवलः, दन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2. 112).

Vart:—Not so, of उस्ताह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उस्ताहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्व चः, अनजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मता परतो बह्वचोऽनजिरादिजितस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मन्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c. "

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मनुप् (IV. 2. 85) The मन् is changed to वन्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables? Observe ब्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन. 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मन् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मन् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after ब्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवर्जितस्य बहउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपीत्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Virt.—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As हारुवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञयमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनुष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमनुष्येभिधेय बहुलं दीर्घो भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the krit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नील्लेहः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रतेवः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साइ and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासाइः and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसाइः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपाशे मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्थोपसर्गस्य काशश्चउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, वीकाशः, अनुकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

दस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य यस्तकारादिरादेशस्तस्मिन्परत इगन्तस्थोपसर्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

124. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा, when the latter is changed to त ॥

Thus नीत्तम्, वीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम् नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुवत्तम्, here वद् is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपदे संज्ञायां दीर्घो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावक्रः, अष्टावन्धुरः अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽष्टन उत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ गवि च युक्ते भाषायामष्टनः दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

126. • In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या दक्षिणा, अष्टापरी देवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापरी is the feminine in डीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपात् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद् being elided in a Bahuvrīhi), पद् being substituted for पात् by VI. 4. 130.

Vidā:—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागाव शकटम् ॥

चित्तेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्तेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तिशब्दस्य कपि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचितीकः, द्विचितीकः, त्रिचितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वस्यस्य वसुं राडित्येतयोश्चत्तरपदयोर्दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्वावसुः, विश्वाराट् ॥ The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजो, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नरस्यस्य उत्तरपदे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvânara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्षो ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपदे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvâmitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvâmitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतेषां मतुप्प्रत्यये परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मतुप् follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्रथमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिस्यस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिर्पीपतुः, नमः पृथिव्ये नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरैर्यमस्त्वौषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमश्नुतङ्कुञ्जोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, य, मश्नु, तङ्, कुञ्ज, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु य मश्नु तङ् कुञ्ज उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तु, तु, घ, मधु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending ञ् and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तू न इन्द्र वृषहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥ घ :—उत वाघा स्यालात् ॥ मधु :—मधू गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ् :—भरता जातवेदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of या, when it is treated as ङित्, therefore it does not apply here, शृणोत मावाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; घ—अघा गौः ; उरुष्या णोमेः ॥

इकः, सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुञ् निपातो हृद्यते । इगन्तस्य सुञि परतो मन्त्रविषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in इ or उ are lengthened before the particle सु ॥

Thus अभी पु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्व ऊ पुण उत्तये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

द्व्यचोतस्तितङ् : ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः, अतः, तितङ्, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचस्तितङन्तस्यात ऋग्विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्या हि त्वा सत्पाति शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विद्या हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवत वाजिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वक्षि यक्षि च as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋग्विषये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रयोगाद्गुणान्तव्यः ॥ यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तद् नैनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुनो वन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपक्षेपु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śiṣṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकंश, कषाकचि, जलासाद्, नारकः, पुरुषः ॥

Vart:—The final of श्वन् is lengthened before the following वन्त, दष्टा, कर्ण कुन्द्, वराह, पुच्छ, and पद:—as श्वावन्तः श्वावेष्टः, श्वाकर्णः, श्वाकुन्द्ः, श्वावराहः, श्वापुच्छः, श्वापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥ चावित्यञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकाराकारो गृह्यते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member, is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus दधीचः पञ्च, दधीचा, दधीचे, मधूचः पञ्च, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In दधि+अच् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also दधी+अच् and मधू+अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. करीषस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य=करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परस्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृदन्ता, विप्रतिषेधेयत्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

ओम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयमाऽऽप्तप्रमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उद्धमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as हूतः, जीतः, संजीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर् + वेत् + क्त = निस्तम्, the vocalised vowel इ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पदय, पामनां पदय, as मि and न are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिण and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into ऐस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, वृक्षैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्सा, ओदनभिस्सा, the भिस् does not follow an aṅga. भिस्स means boiled rice and भिस्सा means दधिः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sūtra. For example, in the sūtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sūtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : first, sūtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सन् or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सन्, as विशीषति ; but not here इधि सनोति for इ of इधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasâraṇa, but not in निस्त &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्वं in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga, as ग्लेयान् or ग्लायान्, but not here निर्यायान् or निर्वायान्, for here र् is not part of the anga, and so र्य cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तान् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतान्, but not here जीव तु त्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इयर्थम् and उवर्थम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of नुद् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी भामिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कस्मै स्पृहयति or कुमार्याः कं सुखं = कुमारिकं ॥

And lastly for तृत्व or त्त substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए into त् in the case of अप before भ ॥ It refers to anga, as अङ्गिः ॥ But not here अबभारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारण दीर्घत्वैस्वजातार्द्ध्यङुवङ्नुद ह्रस्वत्व तत्वे च अङ्गत्वैरधिकारे प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने योगः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prātipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sūtra may require. Thus in अतो भिस एस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् भिसः एस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानषष्ठी in sūtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the whole of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवषष्ठी in sūtras like ऊदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्ति सम्बन्धः in युवोरनाकौ (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अङ्गस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, (अङ्गस्य सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्गोहो यदुत्तरं सम्प्रसारणे तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, इ and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and सम्प्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्वा, जीनः from उवा, सेवीतः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वेम् ॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुतम्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore उ is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्धः, विधितः from व्यध् and व्यध्; here the vowel इ is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here त्रि has been vocalised into तृ, ऋ being substituted for इ before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ऋ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Paṇini himself in sūtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sūtra, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामीत्येतत्स्थीत्रहुवचनम् आगतनुदकं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kārikā—नामि दीर्घे आमि अस्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुन् भवेत् ।

वचनाद्यत्र तत्रास्ति, नोपधायाश्च चर्मणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुद्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कक्षुणाम्, हस्तुणाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अण् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment नुद् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of नुद् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of नुद्, there would be no occasion for नुद् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतसृ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिसृ, चतसृ, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ऋ of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact नुद् is added before scope is given to that rule, and thus the preceding rule VII. 1. 54 prevents the application of the subsequent rule VII. 2. 100.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिसृचतस्रोर्नामि परत उभयथा दृश्यते, दीर्घश्चादीर्घश्च ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृण मध्यंदिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि परमृभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As स्वं नृणां नृपते, and स्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्यङ्गस्योपधाया नामि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चनृ + नाम् (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चानृ + नाम् (VI. 4. 7) = पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in नृ'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्मणाम् where the affix is not नाम् but आम् without नृ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असंबुद्धौ (नोपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and नृ by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in strong cases'? Observe राजनि (Loc-Sing); सामानि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे राजन् ! हे तक्षन् !

वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ष, पूर्वस्य, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in नृ, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षाणं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋक्षुक्षाणं or ऋक्षुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षाणौ तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महत्, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महत् च तस्यैप्रधाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stemending in the conjunct consonant न् elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus अयान्, अयांसौ, अयांसः, अयांसि, पयांसि, ययांसि ॥ महन्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे अयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्, तृन्, तृच्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नेष्टृ त्वष्टृ क्षत्तृ होतृ पोतृ प्रशास्त्रृ इत्येतेषां चाङ्गानाष्टपथाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्त्रृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as बह्माप्ति तडागानि ॥ The Samāsānta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *niitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तत्र समासान्तो विधिरनित्य इति समासान्तो न क्रियते । नित्यमपि च तुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते । तृन् । कर्त्तारो कटारः । वक्षितारो जनापवाशन् । कर्त्तारः । तृच् । कर्त्तारो कटस्य । कर्त्तारः । हर्त्तारो भारस्य, हर्त्तारः । स्वसृ । स्वसा । स्वसारो । स्वसारः । नप्तृ । नप्ता । नप्तारो । नप्तारः । नेष्टृ । नेष्टारो । नेष्टारः । त्वष्टृ । त्वष्टारो । त्वष्टारः । क्षत्तृ । क्षत्तारो । क्षत्तारः । होतृ । होतारो । होतारः । पोतृ । पोतारो । पोतारः । प्रशास्त्रृ । प्रशास्तारो । प्रशास्तारः । नप्त्रादीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञा-शब्दानां दीर्घो ना भूतिः । पितरौ । पितरः । मातरौ । मातरः । असंबुद्धाविति किम् । हेकर्त्तः । हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as कृति, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction); if they be considered as derivative words formed by Uṇadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of niyama (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितरौ, पितरः, मातरौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अर् is substituted for कृ by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूर्वार्यम्णां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यम्णां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्तानामङ्गानां शौ परत उपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that "अन्, इन्, अस्, मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवन्ता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तं विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति", the employment of इन् in this sūtra includes and means "words ending in the syllable इन्" ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix **क्विप्** to the root **हन्**; and the affix **K'vip** is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words **पूषन्** and **अर्यमन्** are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix **शि** in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words "when the stem ends in **हन्** &c."

Thus **बहुवृण्डीनि** and **बहुवृक्षणीनि** । **बहुवृक्षहाणि** । **बहुभूणहाणि** । **बहुपूषाणि** । **बह्वर्यमाणि** ॥
सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः । इन्ह न्पूषार्यम्णामुपधायाः शब्देव दीर्घो भवति नान्यत्र । इण्डिनौ । छत्रिणौ ।
वृत्रहणौ । पूषणौ । अर्यमणौ ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As **इण्डिनौ**, **छत्रिणौ**, **वृत्रहणौ**, **पूषणौ**, **अर्यमणौ** ॥

Kārikā :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about **हन्** &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to **सुट्** (sarvanāmas thāna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix **शि** in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhāga). By so doing, the form **भूणहानि** (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of **सुट्** being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to **शि** affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanāmasthāna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of **हन्** is lengthened before the demonstrative affix **य** (in words like **वृत्रहायते** = **वृत्रहा इव भाचरात**, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of **सुट्** (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of **शि** in this Sūtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanāmasthāna includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of Sarvanāmasthāna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanāmasthāna will be restricted with regard to **हन्** &c to the affix **शि** and not to **सुट्** affixes generally.*

Note :—**शि** is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It is a Sarvanamasthana by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthana may be read into this sūtra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing **शि** in this? The above karika answers this.

In the case of **हन्** ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicatory **क्** or **ङ्**, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (**ङि**) is **वृत्रहनि**, and **भूणहनि** ॥ How do you make this? By splitting up the present sūtra into two parts, the first part being **हन् हन् पूषार्यम्णाम्**, and the second being **शौ** ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case सि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules, of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृत्रहायते, भूणहायते denominative verbs in क्यङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanāmasthāna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛtti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to सि considered a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter affix सि is the Sarvanāmasthāna affix of the Neuter: which has no other Sarvanāmasthāna, therefore, it is a general Niyamā and not only a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नपुंसकस्य”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in सि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूणहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanāmasthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmasthāna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ. च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसेंबुद्धौ परत इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णापुपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus इण्डी, वृत्रहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे इण्डिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृत्रहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तर्य अधातोर्हर्षधार्थाः सावसेंबुद्धौ परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

Thus भवान् (with डवतुप् Un I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with क्तवतु); गोमान् and यवमान् (with मत्तुप्) ॥ The तुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the

vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be 'lengthened at all. **अस्** :—as **सुपयाः**, **सुयशाः**, **सुभ्योताः** ॥ 'Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu'? Observe **पिण्डमः** where **स्** belongs to the root **ग्रस्** (**पिण्डं ग्रसते**), so also **चर्मवः** (**चर्मं वस्ते**) ॥ The **अस्** having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever **अन्** or **इन्** or **अस्** or **मन्**, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (**अनिनस्मन् महानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्ताविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति**) ॥ The word **अन्त** in the sūtra indicates whatever *ends* in **अतु** whether when first enunciated (**उपदेश**), such as **उवतु**, **क्तवतु** &c, or which assumes the form **अतु** in grammatical inflection, such as **मतुष्** which in upadeśa ends in **अतुप्**, but becomes **अतु** in 'प्रयोग', or application. In Votive singular we have **हे गोमन्**, **हे सुपयः** this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य किङ्कलोः कङिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, कङलोः, कङिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया क्षीर्षो भवति किरप्रत्यये परतो झलादौ च कङिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix **कि**, and before an affix having an indicatory **क्** or **ङ्**, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus **प्रशान्** and **प्रतान्** from the roots **शम्** and **तम्** by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a **झल्** consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As **शान्तः** (with **क्त**), **शान्तवान्** (with **क्तवतु**), **शान्तवा** (with **क्त्वा**), and **शान्तिः** (with **क्तिन्**). These are all formed with **क्तिन्** affixes. 'As to **ङित्** affixes we have **शंशान्तः** and **तन्तान्तः** formed by **तस्** 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots **शम्** and **तम्** ॥ **तस्** is **ङित्** by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe **ओङ्मपक्**, **पक्**, **पक्त्वान्** ॥ Why do we say 'before **ङि** and **jhalâdi** affix'? Observe **गम्यते**, **रम्यते** ॥ Why do we say a **ङित्** or a **क्तिन्** affix? Observe **गन्ता** and **रन्ता** ॥

अञ्जनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्, हन्, गमाम. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि झलादौ परे वा क्षीर्षो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिङादेशस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16, The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of **हन्** and **गम्**, when the Desiderative affix **सन्** being **jhalâdi** (i. e. not taking the augment **इद्**) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—**विशीषति**, **तुष्टृषति**, **चिक्रीषति**, **जिहीषति** (VII. 1. 100); of **हन्** and **गम्**, **जिहांसति**, and **अधिजिगोसते** ॥

Vārt:—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इङ् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वर्यो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58) ; In the Veda we read स्वर्गे लोकं समजिगांसन्, where though गम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इङ्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अच् should not be added in the sūtra at all : which should be read as हनगमां सनि meaning "There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows". This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way :—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ" ॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

तनोतेविभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरङ्गस्य सनि झलासौ विभाषा दीर्घो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इद् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इद् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्ति ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्ति, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा दीर्घो भवति त्वाप्रत्यये झलासौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्ता, when it is without the augment इद् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्रान्त्वा ; but क्रमित्वा only, with इद् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप्, the rule does not apply ; as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोऽप्य् बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supercedes even antaranga rule'.

चङ्घोः शूडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङ्घोः, शूड, अनुनासिके, च, (किझलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुक्स्थे वकारस्थे च स्थाने यथासंख्ये श ऊर् इत्येतावपेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकासौ प्रत्यये परतः ववौ झलासौ च कङ्कितः ॥

19. For चङ्घु (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श्, and for व is substituted ऊर्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्ति and jhalâdi डित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रमः, विमः from प्रच्छ and विच्छ, with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90) the चङ्घु being replaced by श् ॥ Similarly from the root सिञ् we have स्थोनः thus: सिञ् + न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्थू + न = स्थोनः (VII. 3. 84). Here the ऊ is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would, be सिञ् + न = सेञ् + न = से + ऊ + न ॥ Having thus added ऊ,

before scope could be given to the guṇa rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of $\text{सि} + \text{ऊ} = \text{स्युः}$, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guṇa, and the maxim of $\text{वाणीराज्ञबलीया मवति}$ has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the Argādhikāra, and affects the anga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With क्वि we have शब्दप्रश formed with क्विप् (Uṇ II. 57) added to प्रच्छ , there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र , and there is lengthening of अ , and च्छ changed to श . So also गोविश ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following:— अक्षयः , हिरण्ययः ($\text{द्वि} + \text{क्विप्} = \text{द्वि} + \text{ऊ} = \text{यूः}$) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and $\text{द्वि} + \text{ऊ} = \text{यूः}$, the change of इ into य is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of $\text{असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे}$ (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga), there should be no change of इ into य , for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by $\text{नाजानन्तेयं बहिरङ्गं प्रकल्पितं}$: "A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asiddha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else".

So also before a' jhalādi affix; as $\text{प्रच्छ} + \text{क्त} = \text{पृष्टः}$, पृष्टवान् (क्तवु), पृष्टा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to श , there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, यूतः , यूतवान् , यूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not ङित् or क्वित् , the rule does not apply: as गुभ्याम् , गुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of क्वित् and ङित् into this sūtra; and explain गुभ्याम् and गुभिः by VI. 1. 131: उ short being substituted for व of द्वि ॥

In "छशां ष" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, श is ordained to come every where in the place of छ ॥

The indicatory इ in ऊइ is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sūtras like एते धस्युद् सु (VI. 1. 89). In the sūtra वाह ऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory इ ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, भ्रिवि, अवि, मवाम्, उपधायाः, च, (क्लृप्तलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर त्वर भ्रिवि अव मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊङित्ययमादेशो भवति क्वी परतो ऽनुनासिके झलौ च कङिति ॥

20. In ज्वर , त्वर , श्रिव , अव , and मव , before the above-mentioned affixes (क्वि , a Nasal or a jhalādi 'क्वित्' or 'ङित्') there is the single substitution of ऊइ for the व and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus ऊः, ऊरौ, ऊर्, ऊर्त्तिः ॥ स्वरः—सूः, सूरौ, सूर्, सूर्त्तिः ॥ भ्रिभिः—भूः, भूरौ, भूर्, भूर्त्तिः ॥ भूतवान्, भूतिः ॥ अङ्—ऊः, उरौ, उर्, उर्त्तिः ॥ मवः—मूः, मूरौ, मूर्, मूर्त्तिः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ ऊर्स्वरौ रूपधा वकारात् परा, भ्रिव्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ऊर् and स्वर the ऊ replaces व् as well as the अ which follows व्; and in भ्रिब्, अङ् and मव् it replaces the व् and the vowel इ and अ which precede व् ॥ Another reading is सिव् ॥

राह्योपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किञ्चलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोऽङ्गुलीपो भवति क्वो परतो झलदो क्ङिति च परतः ॥

21. After र there is the elision of छ् and व् before 'कि' and jhalâdi 'कित्' and 'ङित्' affixes.

Thus from सुर्छा—सूर, सुरौ, सुरः, मूर्तः मूर्तवान्, मूर्त्तिः, the त् of Nishthâ is not changed into न् by VII. 2: 57. So also from हुर्छा we have हूर, हूरौ, हुरः, हूर्णः, हूर्णवान्, हूर्त्तिः ॥ So also the ध् is elided, as from तूर्धीः—तूर, तूरौ, तुरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्त्तिः ॥ धूर्धीः—धूर, धूरौ, धुरः, धूर्णः, धूर्णवान्, धूर्त्तिः ॥

असिद्धवद्भाऽऽ भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्यमधिकारो यद्विद ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तिस्तद् असिद्धवदेवित्थ्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बुग्युदाबुवङ्यणोः सिद्धो भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sūtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikâra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the Abhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another Abhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to अ' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last sūtra the word अ occurs : i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same आश्रय or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'âdeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एधि and वार्धि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119; and शा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is धि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that धि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of ह्रस्व class. Now अस् and शास् end in a *jhal* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take धि. The present rule helps us here, and for the application of धि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or शा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आगहि (Vedic Imperative, शप् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जहि from गम् and हन्, the nasal being elided in the case of गम्, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हन् (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of हि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of हि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by Abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाजि and रागः from भञ्ज् and रञ्ज्. Here the nasals of rañj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes घञ् and चिण् respectively, and we have the stems रञ् and भञ् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अत्र in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा + वस् (कृसु) + अस् (शस् Acc. Pl.) = पपा + उस् + अस् (VI. 4. 131 'vocalisation of व'). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पपुषः in पपुषः पश्य. Similarly चि + वस् + अस् = चिचि + उस् + अस्. Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिच्युषः पश्य. Similarly लू + वस् + अस् = लूलू + उस् + अस् = लूलुषः. Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasāraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आश्रय. Nor does the maxim of असिद्धे बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sūtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sūtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vart.—The substitute वृक् (VI. 4. 88), and युद् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवङ् and VI. 4. 82, teaching य् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with वृक्, and उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयान्, उपदिशीयिरे with युद् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of भू, when वृक् is added, there is not the addition of उवङ्, and in the case of शीङ्, when युद् is added, there is not यणादिश् ॥

The आ in आभान् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by भ ॥

आभलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसिति भ्रमयसुसूष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत् उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikarāṇa अम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and भनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to unoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज् + अम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज् + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ् + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after अ' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory ण? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यज्ञानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यज्ञ, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विश्रानाम् and प्रश्नानाम् (formed by विश्र + नाम् and प्रश्न + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after अ of विश्र ॥ For the अ of the sūtra is the *technical* अ the vikarāṇa, and not any combination of the letters ण and न ॥ The pratipadokṭa maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपक्षयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः कृडिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनदितां नलोप लङ्गिकम्प्योरुपतापशरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रज्ज्वेगौ मृगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ घिनुणि च रज्ज्वेरुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रजकरजनरजः मृपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

24. "In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

Thus from खन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed खस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्, खस्यते, ध्वस्यते with यक्, खनीयस्यते, ध्वनीयस्यते with यङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्यते and नानन्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as ढुगन्ति संघट्टी, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, ङ्नीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe नश्यते, नानश्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or ङ? Observe संसनं, ध्वंसनं with ल्युट्, ॥

Vart:—The roots लङ् (लङ्गि) and कम्प् (कपि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupaṭha with an indicatory इ, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिङित्: thus विलङ्गितः and विकम्पितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्कितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vart:—The causative of the root रज्ज्, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रजयति मृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रज्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vart:—रज्ज् loses its nasal before the affix, घिनुण्, as रागी ॥

Vart:—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रज्ज् by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जं शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, संज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikarṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सजति and परिव्रजते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जश्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज् is also elided before शप् ॥

As रजति, रजतः, रजन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛiti of rañj only runs and not of dañs &c.

घञि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञि परतो रञ्जरूपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रागः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आश्चर्यो रागः, विश्वित्र रागः denote भाव, while रज्यतेऽनेनिति रागः denotes instrument. The घञ् is added by III. 3. 121; and च् changed to क् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रजन्ति तस्मिन् 'a theatre;

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे अभिधेये स्यद इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यदेर्नलोपो वृद्धपभावश्च ॥

28. The word स्यद् is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived' from स्यन्द्, the nasal is elided, and the Vṛiddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the ārdhadhātuka affix घञ् causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of न् of स्यन्द्, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, only in case of इक् vowels, here the Vṛiddhi is prevented with regard to अ ॥ The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus गोस्यद्' अश्वस्यद्: meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but तैलस्यन्द्:, and घृतस्यन्द्: meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधौघप्रश्नथहिमश्नथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोद, एध, ओघ, प्रश्नथ, हिमश्नथाः
वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद एध ओघप्रश्नथ हिमश्नथ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. अवोद, एध, ओघ, प्रश्नथ, and हिमश्नथ are irregularly formed by the elision of न ॥

Thus उन्द्—अव+उन्द्+घञ्=अवोदः ; इन्ध्+घञ्=एधः, the guṇa. is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. उन्द्+मन्-ओघा'(Uṇadi मन्). प्र+श्नथ+घञ्=प्रश्नथः (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also हिमश्नथः ॥

नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्चेः, पूजायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus अञ्चिता अस्य गुरवः, अञ्चितमिव शिरो वहति ॥ The इद् augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have उदक्तमुदकं कुपान् "the water was *drawn* from the well." Here the इद् is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्लि स्कान्दिस्थन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लि, स्कान्दि, स्थन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्लापद्ये परतः स्कन्द् स्थन्द् इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. स्कन्द् and स्थन्द् retain their nasal before the affix क्ल ॥

Thus स्कन्त्वा, and स्थन्दिक्त्वा or स्थन्त्वा, the इद् being added when स्थन्द् is considered as having an indicative ऊ in the dhatupāṭha. When इद् is added, क्ल्पा is no longer क्लि by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जान्तनशां विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान्त, नशाम्, विभाषा (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जान्तानामङ्गानां नशश्च क्लापद्ये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before क्ल्पा in a root ending in ज् and in नश् ॥

Thus रङ्क्त्वा or रक्त्वा, भङ्क्त्वा or भक्त्वा, नष्ट्वा or नष्ट्वा See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment' न् in नश् ॥ When इद् comes, we have नशित्वा ॥

भञ्जेश्च चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेश्च चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिष्णु (इ)।

Thus अभञ्जि or अभञ्जि । This is an aprāpta vibhāṣā, and teaches for the first time the elision of न with a certain contingency.

शास् इदङ् हलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शास्ः, इत्, अङ्, हलोः, (कङिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शास् उपधाया इकारदेशो भवति अङि परतो हलादौ च कङिति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्वौ च शास् इत्वं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्विप् प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अङ् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् ॥

Thus अन्वाशिषन्, अन्वाशिषताम् and अन्वाशिषन्; so also शिष्टः (with क्त), शिष्टवान् (with क्तवत्), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्यः (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are ङित् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासन्ति, शशासत्, शशासुः ॥

Vart.—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् before the affix क्वि ॥ As आर्यशीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also मित्रशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + क्वि = शिस् + ० = शिर + ० = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76).

The root शास् is that root which takes अङ् aorist; namely the second Adādi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvādi and the first Adādi शास् (आङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vart.—But before क्विप्, this शास् also is changed, as आशीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः ॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word शिवाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शासो हौ परतः शा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास् ॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101. See VI. 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास् and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास् ॥ The anuvritti of क्तिन् and ङित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as णित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though णिन् Śārvadhātuka is not ङित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when धि is णित् and consequently anudātta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before हि ॥

Thus जहि शत्रून् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, वनति, तनोत्यादीनाम, अनुनासिकलोपः, झलि, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनन्तस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति झलादी क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâtha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन and तन &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

Thus यमु gives us यन्म (with त्वा), यतः (with क्), यतवान् (with क्तवतु), यतिः (with क्तिन्), Similarly रमु gives us रत्वा, रतः, रतवान्, रतिः ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâtha. So also of वन्; i. e. वतिः with क्तिन्; with क्तिच् the nasal is not elided as वन्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इद् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots are ten in number, तन् सन्, क्षण्, क्षिण्, कृण्, तृण्, घृण्, वन्, मन् and कृम् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, कृण्—कृतः, कृतवान्; तृण्—तृतः, तृतवान्; घृण्—घृतः, घृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a ङित् affix? Observe अतत, अतथा: (I. 2. 11 these affixes are ङित्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, शान्तः, शान्तवान्, not being anudâtta in the Dhâtupâtha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not क्तिन् or ङित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम्. Why do we say "anudâtta by upadesa"? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः, but not to शप्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गतिः is formed by क्तिन् affix and is accented with udâtta on the first, but it is a secondary udâtta and not of upadesa or dhâtupâtha, and does not prevent the elision of न् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâtta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुशान्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâtha as udâtta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâtta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhâtupâtha, and न् where else taught as anudâtta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâtta ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā. The option applies to roots ending in *म्*. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रयत्य or प्रयम्य, प्रत्य or प्रम्य, प्रणत्य or प्रणम्य, आगत्य आगम्य, but no option in आहत्य, प्रमत्य, प्रवत्य, प्रक्षत्य ॥

न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्तिचि, दीर्घः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तिचि परतो ऽनुनासोर्पञ्चाशीनामनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix क्तिच्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudāttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि, do not lose their nasal before क्तिच्. Thus वर्न्ति, तन्ति, वन्ति ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः कौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, कौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः कौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before कौ ॥

Thus अङ्गगत्, कलिङ्गगत्, अध्वगतो हरयः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart :—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Vart :—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ् : as, अग्नेयूः, अग्नेभूः ॥

विड्नोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-वनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विटि वनो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्थाङ्गस्याकार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अद्भजाः, गोजाः, कृतजाः, अद्भिजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि Rig V.), कृपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, दधिकाः, अग्नेया उन्नेतयाम् ॥ The affix विट् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix वन् we have the following :—विजावा, अग्नेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sūtra shows that the limitation of anudāttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्-झलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्-झलोः, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गाणां सनि झलौ द्विति झलौ प्रत्यय परतो आकार आदेशो भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जनं, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus, जातः, जातवान्, जार्तिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिषासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः ॥ In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment इद्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिर्जनिषति, चिखूनिषति ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes इ, so we have two forms सिषासति and सिसनिषति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन् ॥

If the phrase सन्झलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛtti of झाल कडिति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalâdi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a कित् or डित् jhalâdi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment इ, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanâdi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vipratishedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term हल् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ई ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ द्विति प्रत्यये परतो जनसनखनामाकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicative क् or ड् ॥

Thus जायते or जन्यते (with यक्) जीजायते or जज्जन्यते (with यङ्) । So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikaraṇa श्यन् of the Fourth class, which is डित् according to I. 2. 4; the आ is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यक् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोतेः, यकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोतेर्यक् परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus तायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, क्तिचि, लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेर्यङ्स्य क्तिचि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix क्तिच्; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सातिः, सन्तिः and सतिः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by annvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारो न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकइत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix" called ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 114 &c).

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sūtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka". Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches "the अ standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided". To complete the sense we should add: "before an ārdhadhātuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्षि is elided before the ārdhātuka affix ह, as चिकीर्षितु, जिहीर्षितु, but the final अ is not elided before a sārvaadhātuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The luk-elision of क्षप् after roots of अशादि class, implies that there is never *lopa* of क्षप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ārdhātuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अन्तोलोपः— The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) यलोपश्च, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as बेभिदिता, बेभिदितुन्, बेभिदिष्यम् from बेभिक् the Intensive stem. Before Sārvaadhātuka, we have बेभिद्यते, च्छिद्यते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याच्यते ॥ In Sārvaadhātuka, पाचयति, याजयति, कारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आल्लोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः, ववुः, In Sārvaadhātuka, यान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईस्वम्— The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, वीयते; in Sārvaadhātuka अशान्ताम्, अधान्ताम् (6) एस्वम्— The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sārvaadhātuka, स्नायात्, ग्लयात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (Āsirlin). (7) चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिण्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sārvaadhātuka, क्रियेत, ह्रियेत ॥

Kāśikā:—अन्तो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

आल्लोप ईस्वमेस्व च चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि ॥

भ्रस्जो रोपश्चयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भ्रस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रस्जो रेकस्योपधायाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the र् and the penultimate letter र् of the root भ्रस्ज, there is optionally the substitute रम्, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.

The र् and र् cease to exist and र् takes their place. The substitute having an indicative र् comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus भ्रस्ज + त् = भर्ज + त् = भर्ज the ज being changed to र् by VIII. 2. 36, and त् to र् by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be भ्रष्ट; so also भ्रष्टुर्म् and भर्जुम्, भ्रष्टव्यम् and भर्जव्यम्, भ्रज्जनम् or भर्ज्जनम् ॥ But भृष्टः and भृष्टवान् by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word उपदेष्टा (VI. 4. 37). is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root bhrasj as originally taught in the Dhatupâtha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (यङ्) is बरीभृज्यते ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिशीर्षाभ्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

48. The अ standing at the end of a stem is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, and चिकीर्षितव्यम्, from the Desiderative stem चिकीर्ष ॥ So also धिनुतः and कृणुतः from the roots धिन् and कृण्व् thus, धिन् + उ (III. 1. 80) = धिन् + अ + उ (III. 1. 80) = धिन् + उ (अ being elided before the ârdhâtuka उ) = धिनु, the 3rd Personal dual of it is धिनुतः ॥ The addition of अ by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sūtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided अ being sthānivat, prevents guṇa of धि ॥ So also कृणुतः ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the अ is elided"? Observe चेता, सोता here इ and उ have not been elided. Why do we say "अतः with a त्"? The long आ will not be elided: as याता, वाता ॥ Why do we say 'before an Ardhadhâtuka'? Before a Sârvadhâtuka there will be no elision of अ nor before a Taddhita: as वृक्षत्वम् and वृक्षता ॥

— *Art*:—The elision of such अ takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛiddhi and lengthening. As चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः, चिकीर्ष्य ते and जिहीर्ष्यते ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रु उतारस्य यशब्दस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final य in a verbal stem, this य is elided also before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus बेभिविता, बेभिवितुम्, बेभिवितव्यम् from the Intensive stem बेभिवि ॥ In the sūtra यस्य is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters य् अ ॥ By the rule of अलोऽन्यस्य (I. 1. 52), the अ of य ought to be elided

and not य्; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of अ would have taken place by the preceding rule: the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word हलः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संघात) conjointly viz.] य and not य्? Observe ईर्यिता, मध्यिता, शुष्यिता from the simple roots ईर्य्, मध्य्, and शुष्य् ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant?' Observe लोल्यिता, पोष्यिता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of य of the Denominative stem (क्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

The क्य denotes the affixes क्यप् and क्यङ् ॥ Thus समिध्यिता or समिधिता, कृष्यिता or कृषयिता meaning समिधमात्मन इच्छति or समिध इवाचरति &c.

णेरनिटि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अनिटि, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिडावावाङ्धातुके णेलोपो भवति ।

51. The इ of the verbal stem formed with the affix णि, is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix which does not take the augment इद् ॥

This debars इयङ्, the semi-vowel य, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अततक्षन्, अररक्षन्, आशिशन्, आटिटन्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and क्षीप्सति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इद्?' Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेटि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेटि परतो णेलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क्त and क्तवतु when these take the augment इद् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an ârdhadhâtuka affix having the augment इद्"? Observe संज्ञितः ऋशुः ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the इ being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, जप् is a root which takes no इद् augment in the Nishthâ. It may be objected that, VII. 2. 15 preventing इद् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative जपि being of two syllables will always have इद् in the Nishthâ, and so it is useless to use the word सेटि in the sūtra. The word सेटि in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, first there should be added the

augment इद् and *then*, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + त्, here let us elide the णि *first*: and we get कार् + त्, now we cannot add हद् to त्, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take हद् by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must elide इद् *first*. For ज्ञपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानतेति मन्त्रादप्ये इडादेशे णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before the affix त् with the augment इद् ॥

Thus यो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि शमितेति इडादेशे णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before an इद् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by कृष् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शतं हविः शमायितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्ल्याय्येत्तन्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेरयादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम, अन्त, आलु, आय्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the Upādi affix झञ्झः झ = अन्त, added to the roots गण्ड and मण्ड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनायत्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take गुण ए which will be changed to अय् by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अय् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अय् by any sandhi-rules.

ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (णेः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य णेरयादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix ल्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रशानय्य गतः, संशमय्य गतः, प्रवेभिवय्य, प्रगणय्य ॥ But प्रपात्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of **य** and the elision of **अ** should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus **शम् + णिञ् = शानि**; this **आ** is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have **शानि** ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pûrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly **वेभिञ्** is the Intensive root, its **य** is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the **इ** of **णि** would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of **अ** in **गण** which is a root which ends in **अ**, (see Dhâtupâtha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ५५: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य णेर्यपि परतो विभाषा ऽयदेशो भवति ॥

57. **अय्** is optionally substituted for the **इ** of **णि** before the affix **ल्यप्**, after the verb **आप्** ॥

Thus **प्राप्यथ**, or **प्राप्य गतः** ॥ This however does not apply to the **आप्** substitute for **इङ्**, as **अध्याप्य गतः** (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

युप्लवोर्द्धोर्द्धइच्छन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लवोर्द्धोर्द्धयोर्द्धपि परतश्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In **यु** and **प्लु**, long is substituted for **उ**, before **ल्यप्** in the Veda.

Thus **हान्यनुपूर्वे विद्युय**; यत्रा यो वक्षिणा परिप्लुय ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe **संयुत्य**, **आप्लुत्य** in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियश्च दीर्घो भवति ल्यपि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before **ल्यप्** ॥

As **प्रक्षीय**, **उपक्षीय** ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यार्थो भावकर्मणी ताभ्यामन्यत्र या निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before the Participle in **क्त**, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in **ण्यत्** ॥

The force of **ण्यत्** is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of **ण्यत्**, the vowel of **क्षि** is lengthened. Thus **आक्षीणः**, **प्रक्षीणः**, **परिक्षीणः** all used in the active sense. The **क्त** is added to the Intransitive **क्षि** to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus **प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य** 'this is the spot where Devadattā perished'. Here **क्त** is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

प्यन् ?' Observe अक्षितमसिमानेक्षेष्टाः ॥ Here त is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the त is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽऽक्रोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा) वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोश गम्यमाने दैन्ये च क्षियो निष्ठाद्यामप्यदये वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle क्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle प्यन्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्षिमायुरेधि or क्षीणायुरेधि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणधनः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशः ऽज्ज्ञानग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, क्षच्-हन्-ग्रह-दृशाम्, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशे ऽज्ज्ञानानामङ्गानां हन् ग्रह दृश इत्येतेषां च चिण्वत्कार्यं भवति वा । यत्र चिण्वत् तत्र इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच् (S-Aorist), सीयुट् (Benedictive) and तासि (the Priphastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भाव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हन् (3) ग्रह् and (4) दृश् are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण्, and when so treated, they have the augment इट् ॥

The augment इट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्, सीयुट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism? They are given in the following verse :—

Kārikā चिण्वद् वृद्धिर्युक् च हन्तेष्व यत्वं
दीर्घश्चोक्तो यो मितां वा चिणीति ।
इट् चासिद्धस्तेन मे लुप्यते णि-
मित्यन्वायं वलनिमित्तोऽविधाती ॥

First :—The Vṛiddhi takes place as in चिण् (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of युक् augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly च is substituted for the इ of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory

(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इद् being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix णि is elided : and this इद् is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhātupāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यत or चैष्यते, अचायिष्यत or अचैष्यत ॥ So also with श, as, शायिष्यते or शस्यते, अशायिष्यत or अशस्यत ॥

In शमि there are three forms, the two शामिष्यते or शमिष्यते, अशामिष्यत and अशमिष्यत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इद् augment which is considered as asiddha : and शम् being a root of मित् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शमयिष्यते and अशमयिष्यत are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचैषाताम्, अशायिषाताम्, or अशैषाताम् and अशामिषाताम् or अशमिषाताम् ॥ With the affix सीयुद्—चायिषीष्ट or चैषीष्ट, शायिषीष्ट or शैषीष्ट and शामिषीष्ट or शमिषीष्ट ॥ With the affix तासिः—चायिता or चैता, शायिता or शैता, शामिता or शमिता ॥ The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अशायि (VII. 3. 33), and अशामि (VII. 3. 34) or अशमि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन्—Fut. घनिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अघनिष्यत or अहनिष्यत, Aor. अघनिषाताम् or अघाघिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben घानिषीष्ट or वधिषीष्ट; Per. Fut. घानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिण् model is अघानि ॥

(3) मह्—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. अमाहिष्यत or अमहीष्यत; Aor. अमाहिषाताम् or अमहीषाताम् (अमहिषाताम्)?; Ben. माहिषीष्ट or (माहषीष्ट)? महीषीष्ट, Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अमाहि ॥

(4) दृश्—Fut. दृशिष्यते or द्रश्यते, Con. अदृशिष्यत or अद्रश्यत; Aor. अदृशिषाताम् or अदृभाताम्; Ben दृशिषीष्ट or दृशीष्ट; Per. Fut. दृशिता or द्रष्टा (दृष्टा)? ॥ The चिण् model is अदृशि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c? Observe चेतव्यम्, शतव्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive? Observe चैष्यते and शस्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (āṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इह् and इण् ॥ Thus हनिष्यते, घनिष्यते, एष्यते or आयिष्यते, अचैष्यते or अचयिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिण् ॥

दीडो युडचि कडिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङः, युट्, अचि, कडिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीङायुडागमो भवति अजाहो कडिति प्रत्यय परतः ॥

63. युद् is the augment after दीङ्, of an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ड् ॥

Thus उपविहीये, उपविहीयाते and उपविहीयिरे ॥ . The Personal ending is क्तिन् by I. 2. 5. दीङ् being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix. This augment, however, is not to be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of semi-vowel substitution under VI. 4. 82. If that substitution were allowed, the augment would become useless. Why before an affix having क् or ड्? Observe उपसानम् ॥

आतो लोप इति च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडावावर्द्धधातुके कृडिति चाकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix with the augment इद् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ड् ॥

Thus पपिथ and तस्थिय ॥ Here the affix has the इद् augment. पपुः, तस्थुः, तस्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are क्तिन् by I. 2. 5 गोः, कम्बलः with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also प्रवा (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before Sârvadhâtuka affixes, we have यन्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्यरे and व्यत्यले ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of रा and ला with the affix इ (इद्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लायते, हासीय ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus हेयम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेयम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि, ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम्, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मां स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलासौ कृडिति प्रत्यये परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (घु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ड् ॥

Thus दीयते, धीयते with यक्, देहीयते, देधीयते with यङ् ॥ So also मीयते मेमीयते स्थीयते, तैष्ठीयते, गीयते, जेगीयते, अध्यगीष्ट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत्, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जेहीयते, अवसीयते, अवसेसीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana श् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvādi वा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-जिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe ह्यतुः, ह्यदुः ॥ Here had हल् not been used in the sūtra, the आ of हा would be replaced by ई by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix अतुः ० उत् ; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this subsequent sūtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word हल् in the aphorism is a jñāpaka that the rule of vipratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is superseded by the present rule substituting ई instead. So also दाता and धाता before non-कित् and non-ङित् affixes.

पलिङि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्यागापाजहातिसामज्ञानां लिङि परत एकारदेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, मेयात्, धेयात्, स्येयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and भवसेयात् ॥ Before non-कित् and non-ङित् we have दासीष्ट and धासीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ् is here meant the आसीर्लिङ् or the Precative mood ; the Personal endings of which mood are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are कित्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा अन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रादिभ्यो अन्यस्य संयोगादेराकारान्तस्य वा एकारदेशो भवति लिङि परतः ॥

68. For the final आ of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, ए may optionally be substituted, in the Benedictive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The स्या was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus स्लेयात् or स्लायात्, स्लेयात् or स्लायात्, but only स्येयात् (VI. 4. 66), and दायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase कृडति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus स्लासीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an aṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), र् is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र is no part of the aṅga, but of the preposition.

न व्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यपि, घुमास्यागापाजहातिसाम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो घुमास्थागापांजहातिसां यदुक्तं तत्र ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix ल्यप् follows घुमा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रदाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a कित् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतैरिदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मयतैरिदंकारिणो वा भवति ॥

70. इ may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमिस्य or अपमाय ॥

लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, लङ् क्षु, अद्, उदात्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् लङ् इत्येतेषु परतोङ्स्याडागमो भवति, उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अद् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकशीत्, अहशीत्, अकरोत्, अहरत् and अकरष्यत्, अहरिष्यत् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्षु परत उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

72. आद् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत्, ऐक्षिष्यत्; औज्जीत्, औज्जत्, औज्जिष्यत् ॥ ऐहिष्ट, ऐहत् and ऐहिष्यत् औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vridhhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यञ्, वप् and वह् are ऐज्यत्, औप्यत् and औह्यत् formed by आद् and not अद् ॥ First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic यङ् is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इज्यत्, उप्यत्, and उह्यत् stems (VI. I. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आद् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikarana यङ्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यङ् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आद् ॥ Why आद् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim:—शङ्कान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति "when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya."

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते, आद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आङ्गमो दृश्यते । यच्च हि विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ।

73. The आद् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृश्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नश् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युञ् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लङ् लङ् लङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्योगे लङ्लङ्लङ्क्षु यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अद् or आद् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् शर्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्टमा, भवानीक्षिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहत, मा स्म भवानीक्षत ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ्योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगेऽपि बहुलमडादौ भवतः अमाङ्योगेऽपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda : the augment अद् or आद् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in अनिष्टा उमः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममूनयीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममईयीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षत्रे परवीजान्यवाप्सुः, मा अभिरथाः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इरयोः, रे, (बहुलं छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इर इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विहर्भं प्रथमं दधे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्य पतिदधे ॥ In दधे, the आ of धा is elided before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोऽग्निर्मणि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इद् augment is first added to रे after the सेद् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

अचि इनुधातुभुधां खोरियडुवडौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, इनु, धातु, भुवाम्, खोः, इयङ्, उवडौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातोर्विर्णोवर्णान्तस्य अ इत्येतस्य इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतोऽचि परतः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणे तन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिक्षिबतुः छलुवतुः, हलुः, नियौ, नियः, लुबौ, लुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe आप्नुयान्, शक्नुयान्, राध्नुयान् ॥ Why "of नु &c."? Observe लक्ष्ये, लक्ष्याः, वध्ने, वध्वाः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Vart:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ्: as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with ल्युट् and ण्वल् ॥

Vart:—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ विपुवं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ऽचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयत्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but ईषतुः and ईषुः ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥७९॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्यतस्याजादौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीणाम् the न् being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा ऽमशंसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम, शंसोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शंसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्री पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्स्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्स्य यणादेशौ भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (एति) is substituted a semivowel (य), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इधेङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vridddhi and Guṇa: on the maxim मध्ये उपवाहः पूर्वान् विधीन् वाधन्ते, नोत्तरान् ॥ "Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them." So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

परनेकाचो असंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्त्वयः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्माद्विधर्जितं भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pūrva इ ॥ Thus निन्दतुः, निन्दुः, उन्नी, उन्न्यः, घामण्यौ, घामण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the root नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kāraka-upapada घाम ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kāraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमनियौ and परमनियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say 'of इ or ई'? Observe लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः from लुलु which ending in ऊ takes उवङ् substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवकी दे. यवक्रियौ pl. यवक्रियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say "forming part of the root"? So that the rule may apply to उत्तौ also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न् being part of the upasarga उत् ॥ Thus we have उन्न्यौ and उन्न्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपूर्व should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter इ, and not as qualifying the word अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुपि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुपि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वययः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्जितं भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final

ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलू 'a sweeper':—d. खलू, pl. खलूः; so also शतसू and शतसूः, and सकलूः dual सकलूवौ and सकलूवः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटपुवौ, कटपुवः (because ऊ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kāraka word: as परमलूः—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाश्वश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा श्वः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भवेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाश्वौ, वर्षाश्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vart:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as हन्वौ, हन्वः, पुनर्वौ, पुनर्वः, कारवौ (कारावौ), कारवः (कारावः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोरुभयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semi-vowel substitution.

As विभ्वम्, विभुवम्, सुध्वः and सुधियः; वनेषु चित्रं विभवं विभो, विभो विभुवम्, सुध्वो हव्यमग्नेः सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुशुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुशु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाच्चः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाच्चोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्याजादौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel व् is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of हु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—जुहति, जुहतु; अजुहन्, so also with 'सु—as सुन्वन्ति, सुन्वन्तु, असुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say "of हु and जु formed stems"? Observe योजुवति, येरेवति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the यङ् affix. The यङ् is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jñâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in उ, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sârvadhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यङ् be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârvadhâtuka? Observe जुहवतुः, जुहवः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and राप्नुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, वुक्, लुङ्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो वुगगमो भवति लुङि लिटि चाज्जसौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (वुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम्; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥

ऊदुपधाया गोहः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत्, उपधायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्य, अचि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो ऽङ्गस्य उपधाया ऊकारदेशो भवति अज्जसौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gunated stem गाहे (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? So that the substitution should not apply any where else. The form गोह् is taken in the sūtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निजुगुहतुः, निजुगुहः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोढा, निगोदम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गौह् in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of णि before ल्यप् ॥ As निगाहि + ल्यप् = निगूह (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गूह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kāśikā the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोपो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोपः, णौ, उदुपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दोष उपधाया ऊकार आदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as, in गोह, may be given for the root दुष being exhibited as दोष in the sūtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वचन्ते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थे दोष उपधाया वा ऊकारोदशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्तं or प्रज्ञां दूषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मितां धातवो घटादयो मित इत्यवमारयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म्, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as शम् and तम् of Divādi class. Thus घटयति, व्यथयति, जनयति, रजयति, शमयति, क्षपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optional' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā). The forms उत्क्रामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण् (इ), and before the Absolute affix णमुल् (अम्) ॥

चिण्णमुलोर्दीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्य-तरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण्परं णमुल्परं च णौ परतो मिताम्ज्ञानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अशमि or अशामि, भूतमि, or अताम with चिण्; and शमंशमम्, and शामंशमम्; तमेतमम् or तामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sūtra? The rule does not teach merely the optional shortening. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशमि and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional, short only, i. e. it would be a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty:—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शमयन्ते प्रयुङ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthānivat: therefore, the णि which would be followed by

चिन् or जमुल्, would not have in it the मिन् anga, because the first णि intervenes between the मिन् anga and the चिन् and जमुल् affix, and that णि which is preceded by a मिन् anga is not followed by चिन् and जमुल्, because the second णि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sūtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (दीर्घ). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a दीर्घविधि, the lopa-substitution of णि would *not* be sthānivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adeśa of णि being sthānivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word दीर्घ is used in the sūtra to make this rule a दीर्घविधि, and prevent sthānivat-bhāva. Thus take the causative of शम्, which will be शामि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with यङ्, शामि + यङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = शामि शामि + यङ् = शशामि + यङ् (VII. 4. 60) = शं शामि + यङ् (सुक् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = शंशामि + यङ् = शंशाम् + य (VI. 4. 51) = शंशामय. Add णिच् to this i.e. make the causative of the Intensive. शंशाम् + य + इ ॥ Then the य of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = शंशाम् + य + इ. Then य् is elided by VI. 4. 49 = शंशाम् + इ = शंशामि ॥ This शंशामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative शामि ॥ Now add चिन् or जमुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अशंशामि or अशंशामि with चिन् and शंशामय or शंशामय with जमुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adeśa of णिच् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots शम् and तम् (both Divādi) ending in म् do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिन् and जमुल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शामि — शमयति, तमि — तमयति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शामि + चिन् = शम् + चिन् (the इ of णि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = शामि or शामि (with the augment अ = अशामि or अशामि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word दीर्घ implies as much, otherwise the sūtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in शमयन्तं प्रयुक्तं 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add णि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शामि, as शामि + णि = शम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = शामि, the lopadeśa here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the अ of शम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this शामि with चिन् we get अशामि, and with जमुल् we get शामय ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopadeśa will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sūtra. Thus the चिन् and जमुल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of शम् are अशामि or अशामि; शमंशामय or शमंशामय, and from the form शंशामयति, we have अशंशामि or अशंशामि, शंशामंशामय or शंशामंश-

शामम् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign यङ् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खुचि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खुचि, ह्रस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खचपरं णौ परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विषन्तपः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

ह्लादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्लादः, निष्ठायाम्, (ह्रस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्लादो ऽङ्गस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हृद् (हृदि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्वत् ॥

Thus प्रहृष्टः, प्रहृष्टवान्, but प्रहृष्टयति before non-nishthā. The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रहृत्तिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) हृद्ः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्धे ऽङ्ग्युपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, धे, अ ऽङ्ग्युपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्यादङ्ग्युपसर्गस्य घप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गिप्रभृत्युपसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छाद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरच्छद्, प्रच्छद्, एन्तच्छद् ॥ But समुपच्छद् with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as समुपातिच्छद् ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthānivat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

• • • Vāz:—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्तन्किषु च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, प्रन्, किषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् मन् चर्त्तं किषु इत्येतेषु परतच्छादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, प्रन् and कि ॥

Thus छादिस्, छादिमन् (neuter), छादिप्र, धामच्छत् and उपच्छत् ॥ The first three are Unādi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः कङित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, कङिति अनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामुपधायाः ङोपो भवत्यङ्गो प्रत्यये कङित्यनङि परतः ॥

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), थि is substituted for the

Imperative-affix हि, when the latter does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus इ-बुहुधि; इत्- consonants; भिद्-भिन्धि, छिद्-छिन्धि ॥ But कीणीहि, प्रीणीहि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe बुहुताम् ॥ Why do we read the anuvṛitti of हलि into this sūtra? When हि does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i. e. when it takes the augment इट्, the rule does not apply. As रुदिहि, स्वपिहि ॥ In the case of बुहुतात्, भिन्तात्, when हि is replaced by तात् (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because तात् is a later rule in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī, and because सङ्कटौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमव ॥ "When two rules, while they apply simultaneously mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether". When अकच् is added by V. 3. 71, चि substitution takes place, as भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि ॥ The maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् applies here:—"Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule."

शुभ्रणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्सि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शु-भ्रणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्सि, हेङिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शु भ्रणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य हेङिरादेशो भवति छन्सि विषये ।

102. चि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after शु, भ्रणु, पृ, कृ and वृ ॥

As शुधी हविमिन्, शुणुधी, गिरः, पृथि, उरुकृदुहणस्कृ चि and अवावृधि, ॥

In शुणुधी, the हि is not elided after the उ of शु, as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than भ्रणुधि are irregular; शप् being added diversely by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by बहुलं छन्सि II. 4. 73

अङितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इतः, च, हेङिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङितश्च हेङिरादेशो भवति ॥

103. चि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not ङित् ॥

Under III. 4. 88 हि is also पित् in the Vedas: and when it is पित्, it is not ङित् by I. 2. 4. Thus गरदिभ्य, यन्धि and युयोधि in the following सोमरान्धि अस्मभ्यं तद्वयंभ्यं प्रयन्धि, युयोध्यस्मञ्ज् जुहुरणमेनः

Why do we say 'when it is not ङित्'? Observe प्रीणीहि ॥ गरन्धि is irregularly Parasmaipada of रय; the राप् being replaced by इट्, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The य् is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not ङित् ॥ प्रयोध्य is from यन, the राप् is elided: and युयोधि from यु (योति), the राप् being replaced by इट् ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य वुम्भवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिण्, the third person; singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अहवि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारिताम्, अहारिताम्, here the elision of the personal affix *ते (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तप् and तमप् are not elided: though if the sūtra were to, be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चिण्, ought to be elided. Or the word कृडति is understood here; so that कित् and डित् affixes of चिण् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अङ्गस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुभवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पच, पठ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But युहि, रुहि after stems ending in उ. Why do we say "short अ"? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि (लुना + हि, the इ substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो यो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तन्तात्प्रत्ययादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुभवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययादित्यत्र छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikarāṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and इनु ॥ Thus चिनु, सुनु, कुरु ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikarāṇa or affix"? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikarāṇa. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राप्नुहि, तप्नुहि ॥

Vart:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikarāṇa उ and इनु is optional in the Vedas; as आतनुहि यातुधानात्, पिनुहि यज्ञेपतिम्, तेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, म्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयपुकारो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikarāṇa उ and इनु, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म् or न् ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, पुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्वः, तनुवः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should 'not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, युमः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe. शक्युवः, शक्युमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix लु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, इलु and लुप् cause the elision of the *whole* affix, while 'lopa' will cause elision of the final letter only of the affix. If the whole affix be elided, we could not get युवः &c., Moreover, in कुर्व and कुर्म formed by guṇa of कृ, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लुक् been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लोप we have such guṇa also by I. 1. 62.

नित्यं करोतेः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोतेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेरुत्तरस्य उकारप्रत्ययस्य वकारमकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before व and म in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कृ+उ+वः=कृर्+उ+वः (VI. 4. 110)=कृर्+०+वः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopā being not sthānivāt, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of कृ should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यं करोतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेरुत्तरस्योकारप्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुरु is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्वाण्, कुर्याताम् and कुर्युः ॥ The augment 'यासृद्' is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य ॥

अत उत्सार्वधातुके ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उत्, सार्वधातु के, कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरुत्तरस्य स्थाने उकार आदेशो भवति सार्वधातुके कृडिति परतः ।

110. Before 'a Sârvadhâtuka affix with an indicatory क् or ऊ, short-उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कर्+उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ+उ+तस्=कर्+उ+तस् (VII. 3. 84)=कृर्+उ+तस्=कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस् is डित् by I. 2. 4. So' also कुर्वन्ति, कुरु ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sârvadhâtukâ'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sârvadhâtuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending हि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The न् in उन् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not किन् or डित् we have करोति, करोषि and करोमि (I. 2. 4).

इत्सरल्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्-असोः, अत्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः । अस्यास्तथाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कृडिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or झिन् affix, the अ of अ and अस् is elided.

इन् is the characteristic of the roots of the Pûdhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus इन्धः; इन्धति, भिन्तः, भिन्वन्ति; So also of अस्—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिननि and अस्ति before non—किन् and non—झिन् affixes. इन् + अस् ought to be इनास्, instead of that we have इन्स् in the sûtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or झिन् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of आ (the vikarâṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनन्ते, लुनन्ताम्, अलुनन्त; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमन्त, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहन्त ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe घान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe बिभ्रति ॥ Why 'before किन् and झिन्'? Observe अलुनान्, अजहान् ॥

ई हल्यघोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आन्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च घुवर्जितानामात ईकारदेशो भवति हलादेशे सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or झिन् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of आ and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is दा or धा (घु) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, पुनीतः, लुनीथः, पुनीथः, लुनीते and पुनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have मिमीते, मिमीषे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe इत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-किन् and non-झिन् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुके कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरिद्रातेर्हलादेशे सार्वधातुके कङिति परत इकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरिद्रातेरार्धधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धश्च प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥—

Kārikā ॥ न हरिद्रायके लोपो हरिद्राणि च नेष्यते ।

विहरिद्रासतीत्येके विशरिद्रिषतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अद्यतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of हरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or झिन् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus हरिद्रितः, हरिद्रिथः, हरिद्रिवः, हरिद्रिमः ॥ But हरिद्रति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and हरिद्राति before a non-किन् affix.

Vārt:—The final of वरिद्धा is elided before an Ārdhahātuka affix. *Vārt*:—And this elision should be considered as *siddha*, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus वरिद्धा by loosing आ becomes वरिद्ध, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridra'. Thus ण comes after roots ending in long आ (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix अच् (III. 1. 134). Thus वरिद्धाति = वरिद्धः ॥

Kārikā:—The elision does not take place in the forms वरिद्धायक and वरिद्धाण, and the Desiderative may be either विसरिद्धासति or विसरिद्धिषति ॥ *Siddhānta Kaumudī* gives the following rule: "आ of वरिद्धा should be considered as elided when applying an Ārdhahātuka affix, but optionally so before लुङ् (Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), ण्वुल् and ल्युट्" ॥

Vārt:—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अवरिद्धीन् or अवरिद्धासीन् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सिच् ॥ The form वरिद्धस्य in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from वरिद्धा to वरिद्ध ॥

भियो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि कृडिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्गस्यान्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति हलादेशे कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus बिभितः or बिभीतः, बिभियः or बिभीयः, बिभिवः or बिभीवः, बिभिमः or बिभीमः ॥ But बिभ्यति before a vowel-beginning affix and बिभेति before a non-ङिन् affix and भीयते before an Ārdhahātuka affix.

जहातेश्च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् कृडितिसार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेश्च इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलादेशे कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sārvadhātuka किन् or डिन् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But जहाति before a vowel affix, and जहात before a non-ङिन् affix, and हीयते and जीहीयते before an Ārdhahātuka. The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारश्चान्तादेशो भवति इकारश्चान्यतरस्यां हौ परतः ॥

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending हि ॥

Thus जहाहि, जहिहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके कृडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्यकाराद्यौ कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix.

Thus जहात्, जहाताय् and जह्युः ॥

ध्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धुसंहकानामङ्गानामस्तेष्वेकारादेशो भवति ही परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (धु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of धु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sūtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sūtra should be considered as having an indicatory इ so that the whole of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादेर्लिटि ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये, अनादेशादेः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृडितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिटि परत आदेश आदिर्व्यत्याजस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्दलोर्मध्ये यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एमेरेष्व वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नक्षिमन्योरलिष्वेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यभिपक्षोरप्यलिटि एत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिवप्योश्च ॥

120. ए is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicatory कृ (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेणतुः, रेणुः, येमतुः, येष्टुः, पेचतुः, पेष्टुः, रेभतुः, रेष्टुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe सिद्वितुः, सिद्विष्टुः the इ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe ररासे, ररासाते, ररासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two simple consonants'? Observe ररभतुः, ररभुः ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित् here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तत्सरतुः and तत्सरहः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चकणतुः, चकणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमतुः, नेमुः, सेहे and सेहते, सेह्रे though णम् and वह् are the roots, and ण् and व् are changed to न and स ॥ The 'substitution' of जश् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sūtra and will make the stem अदिशादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of कल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem अदिशादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, श, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पृच् the reduplicate is पपच्, the first प is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प will be प ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñāpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and वद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes ādeśādiः otherwise not.

When the affixes are not किन् or डित् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपच्, अहं पपठ ॥

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of वृम्भ under similar circumstances:—thus वेभतुः, वेमुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vārtika.

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of नश् and मन before affixes other than those of लिट् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अङ् of नश् which belongs to Pushādī roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by युन् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनशन् (3rd Pl.), and quotes अनशन्नयेषवः ॥

Vārt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्यमानम्, (वि + अम् + चानश्, the augment वृक् being dropped); पचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt:—So also of यञ् and वप, as आयेजे and आवेवे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आद् being added by VI. 4. 73.

थलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल् मध्ये अनादेशादिः) वृत्तः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतः अनदेशादिरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्यातः स्थाने एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

121. . ए is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending थल् of the Perfect having the augment इद् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus पेचिथ, होक्रिय ॥ But पपकथ before अनिथ ; दिदेविथ, the vowel being इ and not अ ; ततुसिथ, ररसिथ, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चकणिय, बभणिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and भ ॥ This sūtra applies even when the affix is not कित् ; and यल् is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इद् except यल् ॥

तृफलभजत्रपश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादिलिटिथलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृ फल भज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्येभ्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्) follow, as well as when यल् with the इद् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिथ, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिथ, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिथ, त्रेपे, त्रेपाते, त्रेपिरे ॥ In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल् and भज् the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in त्रप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vārt: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, श्रेयतुः, श्रेयुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

123. ए is substituted for the आ of राध when meaning 'to hurt some one', and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्), as well as before यल् with the इद् augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिथ, but राधतुः, राधुः, राधिथ in any other sense than that of 'hurting'. In this sūtra the *long* आ of राध् is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the annuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलमध्ये in this way "in राध् whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए".

वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जृ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर (जृ), अम, and अस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इद् ॥

Thus जरतुः, जरुः, जरिथ, or जजरतुः, जजरुः, जजरिथ, भ्रमतुः, भ्रेषुः, भ्रमिथ, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रषुः, बभ्रमिथ, भ्रसतुः, भ्रेषुः, भ्रसिथ, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रषुः, तत्रसिथ ॥

फर्णा च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणादीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आवेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कङिति परत, स्थलि च सेटि ॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, अज्, अश, भ्लाश्, स्यम् and स्वन् ; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्), as well as before the थ with the इट् augment.

Thus फणतुः, फेणुः, फणिथ or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिथ; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिथ, or रराजतुः, रराजुः, रराजिथ; भ्रजे, भ्रजाते, भ्रजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भ्रेश, भ्रेशाते, भ्रेशिरे, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे; भ्लेश, भ्लेशाते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाशे, बभ्लाशाते, बभ्लाशिरे; स्यमतुः, स्येषुः, स्यमिथ, or सस्यमतुः, सस्येषुः, सस्यमिथ; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिथ, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वेषुः, सस्वनिथ, Why of 'seven'? Observe, दध्वनतुः, दध्वनुः, दध्वनिथ ॥ The Phaṇādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसददवादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद्, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादीर्लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस दद् इत्येतयोर्वकारादीनां च धातूनां गुण इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारावेशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a च, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or डित् follow, or the set थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशाशतुः, विशाशेषुः, विशाशसिथे, दददे, ददशते, ददशिरे, Of roots beginning with व्-वमतुः, ववेषुः, ववमिथ, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशाशतुः, विशाशेषुः, विशाशसिथ, लुलविथ, पुपविथ ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्शस्त्वस्योकारस्य चायमकार इति एत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of क् as क changed to कर् or of, उ changed to ओ again changed to अ or as लु—लव ॥

अवर्णस्त्रसावनअः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवर्णः, तृ, असौ, अनअः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णितेतस्याङ्गस्य ल् इत्ययमवेशो भवति, सुभेत्तः परो न भवति, स च नञ् उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. **तृ** (which is changed to **न्तृ** in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अर्वन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is **तृ**, the **न्तृ** is for the sake of making this affix an **उणिन्**, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have **नुम्** augment VII. 1. 70. Thus **अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्ता, अर्वन्त्याम्, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्ती, अर्वन्तम् ॥ असाविति किम्, अर्वा ॥ अनम् इति किम्, अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्त्रजिह्वम् ॥**

But **अर्वा** in the Nominative Sing. and **अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्त्रजिह्वम्** with the Negative Particle **नम् ॥**

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मघवा, बहुलम्, (तृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तृ इत्ययमदिशो भवति ॥

128. **तृ** is diversely substituted for the final of **मघवन् ॥**

As **मघवान्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः, मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः, मघवना, मघवन्ती, माघवन्तम्, ॥ न च भवति, मघवा, मघवानौ, मघवानः, मघवानम्, मघवानौ, मघोनः, मघोना, मघवन्त्याम्, मघवभिः मघोनी, माघवन्म् ॥**

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्ययमधिकारः, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामी भस्येत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus द्विपदः पदय, द्विपदा कृतम् but द्विपादौ, द्विपादः where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmasthāna.

पाद्ः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पादः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशाब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमदिशो भवति । स च पादलङ्कार-स्यैव भवति ॥

130. For **पाद्** is substituted **पद्** when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form **पाद्** and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादिशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus द्विपदः पदय, द्विपदा, द्विपदे, द्विपदिकां वृत्ति (V. 4. 1), त्रिपदिकां वृत्ति, वैद्याग्रपद्यः ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem:

Thus विदुषः पदय, विदुषा, विदुषे, पेषुषः पश्य, पेषुषा, पेषुषे, ययुषः पश्य ॥ For the purposes of the elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + वस् (III. 2. 107) = पा + वस् = प्रपा + उस् + शस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पस् + उस् + अस् = पयुषः पदय ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ्, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix वस् is included in वस् for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊह ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊह ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य भस्य ऊह इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊह), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a णिब्र formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रद्यौहः, प्रद्यौहा, प्रद्यौहे, दित्यौहः, दित्यौहा, दित्यौहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then प्रष्ठ + ऊह = प्रद्यौहः; the Vṛddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: प्रष्ठ + वह + शस् = प्रष्ठ + उह + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह + अस् (the affix णिब्र III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रद्यौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact णिब्र is never added to वह (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊह, indicates the existence of following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व of इवन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुना, शुने, यूनः, यूना, यूने, मघोनः, मघोना, मघोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् शौवन् वर्तते, माघवनः स्थानीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अस् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as अन् belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न्, as युवतीः पश्य, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word अनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य अस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इत्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्ष्णः पश्य, तक्ष्णा and तक्ष्णे ॥ *Vart:*—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

पपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प पूर्व, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम्, अणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पकारपूर्वो याऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding प, as well as of हन् and धृतराज्ञन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षणः, ताक्ष्णः, धौनक्षः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वैमनः ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्ष्ण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a प'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा डिश्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, डि, श्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डौ परतः शीशब्दे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राज्ञि or राजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, व्, म्, अन्तात्, (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुत्तरस्यानो ऽकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in चन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वण, अथर्वणा, अथर्वणे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिशीब्ना, प्रातशीब्ने, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in चन् and मन्'? Observe तक्ष्णा, and तक्ष्णे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (अस्य अल्लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययनञ्चतिलुप्तनकारोऽनुश्रुते । तदन्तेस्य अस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus इधीचः पश्य, इधीचा, इधीचे, मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ * The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and न् of अञ्च् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद् ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्, ईत्, (अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उत्तरस्याच्च ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च्), after the word उत्त when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलालपः पश्य, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पश्य, शुभंया, and शुभंये from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the अ of a root'? Observe स्वद्धाः पश्य, मालाः पश्य ॥ This sūtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pāṇini himself has declined त्वा and द्वा by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्त्वो ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (भनः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वङ्यादेरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङि परत आत्मन अविलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङोन्यत्रापि छन्दसि लोपो वृद्ध्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus स्मना देवेभ्यः, स्मना संमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यशस्मिन् स्तत्रो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vārt:—The elision of आ of 'ātman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as स्मन्यासमञ्जत मह्यम् ॥

ति विशतेऽङिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, ङिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेस्तु शब्दस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विशकः = विशस्या क्रीतः (with डङ् V. 1. 24), विशं शतम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः, with डङ् affix V. 2. 48), एकविशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicatory ड'? Observe विशत्या ॥

टेः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (ङिति, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसंज्ञकस्य ङिति प्रत्ययपरतो लोपो भवति ॥

143. Before an affix having an indicatory इ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुमुदन्, नडुन् and वसस्वन् with डमतुष (IV. 2. 87). So also त्रिशतां क्रौः = त्रिशकः with इवुन् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bhā bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory ड ॥ Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the kṛit affix ड) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (अस्य, टेः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य अस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सप्तद्व्यचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुथुमित्तैतिलिजाजलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसद्युपर्वणायुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अदमनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अव्ययानां च सार्यप्रातिकाद्यर्थमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आग्निशर्मिः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from अग्निशमन्, औडुलोमन्, and सारलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इस् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe शर्मणा, शर्मणे ॥

Vart :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सप्तद्व्यचारिन्—सप्तद्व्यचाराः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठसर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शिखण्डाः, 10. सूकरसद्यन्—सूकर सद्याः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सूपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vart :—अदमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' : as, आदमः, otherwise आदमनः ॥

Vart :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse' : as, चार्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vart :—The अन् of ध्वन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vart :—The Indeclinables like सार्यप्रातिकः &c are formed by the elision : as सार्यप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, कौतस्कुतः (formed by टस् IV. 3. 11). But, not before the affixes अन् and व्युल्, as आरातीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ 'Pāṇini himself' has shown the exception, in the case of शाश्वतिकः, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अहृष्टलोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहृष्टः, ट, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहृष्टलोरेव टलोरेव परतङ्गिलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहृष्टः समुहं लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus द्वे अहनी समाहूतः = द्यहः, त्र्यहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). द्वे अहनी, अधीष्टा भूतो भूतो भावी वा = द्यहीनः, त्र्यहीनः (with ख V. 1. 87).

Vart:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with टच् V. 1. 79). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvān, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाध्व्यः from बधू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डू, शङ्खव्यः शरु (from शङ्कु), पिचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्यः मृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परशव्यमयः, औपगवः, कापट्यः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरात् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

ढे लोपो ऽकट्वाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढे, लोपः, अ, कट्वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकट्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढे), but not of the stem 'Katrū'.

Thus कामण्डल्यैः, शैतिवाह्यैः, जाम्बयैः, माद्रवाह्यैः, but काट्वाह्यो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ॥

अस्येति ज्ञः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि. ॥ अस्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य ईकारे पर तद्धिते च लोपो भवति ॥

वर्णिकम् ॥ यस्यैत्योऽः इयां प्रतिषेधा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयड उवङ्भ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

148. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus राक्षी, शक्षी, सखी from राक्ष, शृक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as वीक्षि + ई = वीक्षी ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding इ ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अतिसखि ॥ From the word सखी formed by डीष्, under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखीमतिक्रान्तः = अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48, (the samāsānta affix टच् is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form, सखि and not to the feminine सखी). Now if in forming सखि + ई = सखी, had we not elided the letter इ of खि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both इ + ई, would be considered as like the final इ of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non-चि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded from चि class. Not being a चि, we cannot have the form: अतिसखे: in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding इ before the feminine ई, so that the ekādeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short इ is elided before Taddhita affixes:—दुलि—दौलेयः, वलि—वालेयः, भवि—भावेयः ॥ अ is elided before ई as:—कुमार—कुमारी, गौर—गौरी, शार्ङ्गरव—शार्ङ्गरी ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita:—दक्ष—दक्षिः, दक्ष—दक्षिः, चूड—चूडिः, बलाका—बालाकिः, सुमित्रा—सौमित्रिः ॥

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (वी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus काण्ड + ई = काण्डे; कुड्य ॥ सौर्य + ई = सौर्ये (the य would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛitti of आं (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vārt:—इयङ् and उवङ् are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus इयङ् and उवङ् have unimpeded scope in औ or भू + औ or भस् (जस्), as श्रियौ, श्रियः, भुवौ, भुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कामण्डू—कामण्डूलेयः (with दम् IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रवहियः ॥ But in वत्सप्री + दम् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वात्सप्रेयः (वत्सं प्रीणाति = वत्सप्री, तस्यापत्यं); so also लेखाभू—लेखाभ्रेयः with the ढक् affix, this word belonging to Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिथ्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिथ्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम, यः, उपधायाः, (इति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिथ्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया अस्त्य लोपो भवति इति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ मत्स्यस्य उपधामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च ङ्गां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोनक्षत्राणि ॥

वा० ॥ अन्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककारादिशब्दस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आगुर्गुं सं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे तादृश्च ॥ वा० ॥ कादिलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणैकादिक् = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3. 112 = सौर्य, then ई of डीप् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तेषमहः, तेषी रात्रिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यस्यापथं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114), आगस्तीयः; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with डीप् as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sūtra would mean सूर्याङ्गानां भसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य स्त्री = सौरी, आगस्त्यस्य स्त्री = आगस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c: and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आश्रय must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + अ लोपाः + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण्, thus, सूर्य + अण् = सौर्य + ० + अण् (last sūtra) = सौर्य ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य + ० + अ (of अण्) + ई = सौर्य + ० + ० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here य cannot be elided, as it is not upadhā or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आश्रय) are different. Hence we have the elision of य by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the य here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus य is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य, their scope being the same. So being considered asiddha, य still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanivat-bhāva, because for purposes of यलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य? Observe मत्स्यचरी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix चरद is added to मत्सी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूतपूर्वा ॥ Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मस्यचर ॥ This word takes डीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicative इ ॥ Thus मस्यचर+ई, and the word is म, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The य of मस्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्यस्येह मांसं=मास्यम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and अगस्य before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरं निर्वपेत्, आगस्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114) .

Vart :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः=तैषः, पौषः, (IV. 2. 3).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तत्ति, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तितः in अन्तितो न ब्रूत (V. 4. 45).

Vart :—Before the affix तम्, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तम् or अन्तितम्, in अग्ने स्वं नो अन्तितम् अन्तितमे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीदति=अन्तिषत् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix य, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भयः, with the affix यत् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः इति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धित्यकारस्य उपधाया इति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of "taddhita" ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्गी, वात्सी from गार्ग्य and वास्य ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिक्रेयी ॥ Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe वैद्यस्य भार्या, वैद्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ज्ञाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्गाणां समूहः = गर्गकम् from गर्ग्य, वात्सकम् from वात्स्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic य' ? Observe सांकाश्यकः, कार्कश्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सामी इष्टिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ' ? Observe गार्ग्यायनः, वात्स्यायनः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिक्यस्थापत्यं = कारिक्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix' ? Observe गार्ग्ययोः, वात्स्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्चयोश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्व इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोके भवति ॥

152. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix च्व ॥

Thus वात्सीयति or वात्सीयते गार्गीयति, or गार्गीयते ॥ . So also गार्गीभूतः, वात्सीभूतः ॥ But सांकाश्यायते (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाश्याभूतः ; and not also in कारिक्यीयति, कारिक्यीभूतः, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्धिते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडादिषु बिल्वकाद्यः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकाद्यो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Nāḍādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वेणुकीयाः—वैणुकाः, वैत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वेतसकीयाः, वेतसकाः, तृणकीयाः, तार्णकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कपोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कृचा by the Vārtika कृच्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कृच्चकीयाः, कौच्चकाः ॥ लुग्प्रहणं किम्, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात् कुको न्नवृत्तिर्मा भूवन्तः ॥ अन्यथा हि सानयोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुर्वाण निवर्त्तत ॥ लुग्प्रहणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्याद् यकारमात्रस्य मा भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—सानयोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपायेः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other, likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix इय, and not merely of य ॥

तुरिष्टेमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ट, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच् ईयसुन् इत्येतेषु परतः तुशब्दस्य लोपा भवति ॥

154. The affix **तृ** is elided before the affixes **इष्टन्**, **इमनिच्** and **ईयसुन्** ॥

Thus करिष्टः, विजयिष्टः, बह्निष्टः, रोहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix **तृ** is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (टि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛitti of **लुक्** of the last, aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by **लुक्**, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in **विजयिष्ट** and **करिष्ट** ॥ See V. 1. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix **इमन्** has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of **तृ** followed by **इमन्**; **तृ** is followed by **इष्ट** and **ईयस्** by V. 3. 59.

टे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टे, (भस्य लोपः इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेलोपो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ णाविष्टवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ णाविष्टवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य पुंवङ्गावरभावदिलोपयणादिप्रविन्मतोलुक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes **इष्ट**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्** follow.

Thus पटिष्टः, पटिमा, and पटीयान् from पट्, and लयिष्टः, लयिमा and लयीयान् from लय् ॥

Vart.—The Prātipadika followed by the causative **णि**, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix **इष्ट** followed it. Those changes are (1) पुंवङ्गावः—the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाचष्ट = एतयति, इयतयति ॥ **इष्ट** belongs to तसिन्नादि affixes and causes masculination by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of **क्** to **र**, as पृथुमाचष्ट = प्रथयति, प्रवयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) दिलोपः—as, पटुमाचष्ट = पटयति, लघयति by this sūtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i. e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्थूलमाचष्ट = स्थवयति ॥ According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served: (5) विन् मतोलुक्—as स्थूलमाचष्ट = वजयति, वसुमन्तमाचष्ट = वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्विधिः—the substitution of **कन्** for **युवन्** and **अल्प** (V. 3. 64)—as युवानमाचष्ट or अल्पमाचष्ट = कनयति ॥ (7) प्रादि substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाचष्ट = प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रशुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, शुद्राणाम्, यण, आदिपरम्, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र शुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्टमेयस्सु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes **इष्ट**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्**, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in **स्थूल**, **दूर**, **युवन्**, **ह्रस्व**, **क्षिप्र** and **शुद्र** ॥

That is ल, र, यन्, व, र, and र are elided. Thus स्प्रविष्ठः, स्थयीयान्; कविष्ठः कवीयान्; यविष्ठः यवीयान्; ह्रांसिष्ठः ह्रांसीयान्, ह्रांसिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयाध्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvâdi class and take 'imañ' affix (V. 1. 122), क्षोविष्ठः, क्षोशयान्, क्षोशिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणाविपरं i.e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i.e. य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बहिर्गर्वाधिब्रद्राघि-
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्, दीर्घ,
वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बहि, गर्, वधि, त्रप्, द्राघि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृप् दीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्येतेषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बहि गर् वधि त्रप् द्राघि वृन्द् इत्येते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्टमेयस्सुपरतः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ध for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रष्टः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्; स्थिर, स्थिष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्ठः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बहिष्ठः, बहीयान्, बहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वर्धिष्ठः, वर्धीयान्; तृप्, त्रपिष्ठः, त्रपीयान्; दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठः, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा; कृशारक, वृन्धिष्ठः, वृन्धीयान्; प्रियोरुगुरुबहुलदीर्घाः पृथग्विषु पठ्यन्ते, तनान्येषामिमानिञ्च न भवतीति नौशाद्वियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. 1. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, लोपः, भू, च, बहोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरेषां इष्टमेयसां लोपो भवति तस्य च बहोः स्थाने भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

158. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ट, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. 1. 54 and 67, बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई; in this case. ॥ बहु belongs to Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. 1. 122) The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthâni, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्टस्य यिद् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टस्य, यिद्, च, (बहोः भू च बहोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरेष्व इष्टस्य यिडागमो भवति बहोश्च भूरादेशो भवति ॥

159. After बहु, the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥ This augment यिद् debars the lopa substitution, of the last sūtra, in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being य् ॥ Or इष्ट may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening यि VI. 4. 159, the आन् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before यस् by VII. 4. 25; and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिः 'when an operation which is taught in the aṅgādhikāra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.' In VII. 4. 25, however, कृडन् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रश्च भविषो भवति ककारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिष्टमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पृथुं वृद्धं, वृद्धं चैव कृशं च दृढमेव च ।

परिपूर्वं वृद्धं चैव षडेतान् रविधौ स्मरेन् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रयिष्टः, प्रयीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), अरिष्टः, अरीयान् and अरिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the क'? Observe पटिष्टः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe कजिष्टः, कजीयान् ॥ Why do we say 'when prosodially short'? Observe कृष्णिष्टः, कृष्णीयान्, कृष्णिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—पृथु, पृदु, वृश, कृश, दृढ, परिवृद्ध ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मान्, भान्, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मानमाचष्टे = मातयति, भानमाचष्टे = भातयति ॥

विभाषजोऽछन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋजु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थाने विभाषा रेफ आदेशो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of ऋजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्टः and कजिष्टः, in रजिष्टमेति पन्थानम्, स्वर्णजिष्टः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्यां, एक-अच्, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् यङसप्तकं तस्मिन्नेयस्त्वं परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus सजिष्ठः, सजीयान्, सजयति from सजिवन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सजयति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्टः, सुचीयान् and सुचयति from सुचवन्, the मत्तुप् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्ठः from वसुमन् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vārt:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged before the affix भक् ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः=राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debar the elision of य required by VI. 4. 151. So शूनो भावः=शैवानेकः with वृश् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इनव्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अनपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यन्तमनपत्यार्थेण परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांकुटिनम्, सांराविणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुष् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थ by V. 4. 15. So also सांनिवणम् from सान्विन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe इण्डिनां समूहः=राण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अम् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं=मेधावः ॥

गाथिविदधिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदधि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विदधिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदधिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं=गाथिनः, विदधिनः, केशिनः, गणिनः, and पणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिश्च इन् अणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्गिनोऽपत्यं=शाङ्गिनः, याद्विजः, वृज्जणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तमणि प्रकृत्या भवति अपत्ये चानपत्ये च ॥

167. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वैमनः, सौख्यनः, जैल्यनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुखन् and जैल्यन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभावं, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादी च तद्धिते ऽभावकर्मणोरर्थयोरन् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

168. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामसु साधुः = सामन्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्ञ्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitādi class and takes यक् (V. 1. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्येतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9), अध्वानमलङ्कामी (V. 2. 16) = अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix टच् added to the avyayibhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वो ऽपत्ये ऽवर्मणः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्मणः, (अणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वो ऽन् अवर्मणोऽणि परतो ऽपत्ये न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिषेधे वा हितनाम इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुषाम्णोऽपत्यं = सौषामः, चान्द्रसामः, from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौख्यनः, preceded by य ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृता रथः = चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 1. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vārt :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्णोऽपत्यं = हितनामः or हितनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारेणि सामर्थ्या दपत्यादयन्त्राणि देर्लोपायं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्ये इत्येव अपत्ये जातावणि ब्राह्मणदिलोपां न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jâti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्म, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्मो हविः, ब्राह्ममन्त्रम्; ब्राह्मो नारदः ॥ (2) अजाती, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jâti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix: as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jâti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म इति ताच्छील्यं टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tâchchhika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim:—ताच्छीलिकं णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण् is added in the sense of one, accustomed to that." Thus though डीप् is added, to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण्-formed words, in the feminine: as चौरी; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इवम् = कर्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येण टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्षणः = उक्ष्णोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्वाशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवै-
क्ष्वाकर्मत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक,
जैह्वाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐक्ष्वाक, मंत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैह्वाशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐक्ष्वाक
मंत्रेय हिरण्मय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Ātharvanika, 4. Jaihmāsineya, 5. Vāsināyani, 6. Bhraṇṇāhatya, 7. Dhaivatya, 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) ण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from ण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is कक् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: ण्डिनास्पत्यं = ण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvanika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशनि and वासिन् are Jaihmāsineya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix ठक् of the Subhṛādi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix फिम् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यम्, and न् being replaced by त = भ्रूणह्नो भावः, धीव्नो भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण or म् by VII. 3. 2; it might be said त would be added to भ्रूणहन् before व्यम् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like औणशी, वार्ष्णः ॥ The त in Bhraṇṇāhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वां भवः = सारवसुक् ॥ (9) The son of ईक्ष्वाकु, with अम् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final उ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्षाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐक्षाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grīṣṭyādi class IV. 1. 136, and takes डम् as मित्रयु + एय, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146 prevents it, and requires ḥ of उ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before एय, as the ḥ of यु is considered asiddha: VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidādi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अम्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अम् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अङ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form निबबः in the plural. ' So far it would have been all right, but if निबब were to be formed with अङ् affix, as proposed, then the संव derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अङ् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with बुम् under IV. 3. 126; but we require बुम्, as निबबः संवः ॥ (11) हिरण्य from हिरण्य with मबद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य निबबः = हिरण्यमबः ॥

अङ्गुल्यवास्त्यवास्त्यमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गुल्य, वास्त्य, वास्त्य, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गुल्य वास्त्य वास्त्य माध्वी हिरण्य इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विपद्ये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : R̥itvya, Vastvya Vāstva, Mādhvī, and Hiranyaya.

The word अङ्गुल्य is derived from अङ्गु, and वास्त्य from वस्तु, with the affix अङ्, उ being changed to व ॥ अङ्गुतो भवद् = अङ्गुल्यम्, वास्तो भवद् = वास्त्यम् ॥ वास्त्य is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्यः with the affix अङ् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix अङ् in the feminine, as माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्य is from हिरण्य with the affix मबद्, the य being elided.

